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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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16 June 1982

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 309

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SOVIET THREAT IN MIDDLE EAST REVIEWED

Beijing XIANDAI GUOJI GUANXI [CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS] in Chinese No 1, Oct 81 pp 12-15

[Article by Gao Bo [7559 0590] and Yu Lei [7411 4320]: "The Soviet Strategy of Thrusting Southward and the Impediments It Faces"]

[Text] The Position of the Middle East in the Global Strategy of the USSR

After the war, there was a transformation in the Soviet Union's Middle Eastern strategy. For the most part, prior to the 1960's their primary objectives were to penetrate the encirclement of the West and defend the security of their southern borders. Their objectives were essentially defensive. Upon entering the decade of the seventies, a distinct change occurred in the Soviet Union's Middle Eastern strategy: it became offensive rather than defensive. At present, the Soviet Union has adopted as its global strategy a view of the United States as its principal adversary and Europe as its field of battle. They are "prepared to fight to win and are striving for victory without taking up arms." They now regard the Middle East as the main direction of attack and as an area of penetration. Soviet Middle Eastern strategy centers around control of oil in the Middle East and stresses the pivotal role of the Middle East. Their intention is to establish a "curved strategic zone" that goes through North Africa and the Gulf to the Strait of Malacca. If the USSR implements the above-mentioned plans it will force Western Europe and Japan, both of which rely heavily on Middle Eastern oil, to undergo "Finlandization" and it will cause the United States to become isolated. At the same time, it will enable their military forces on their eastern and western fronts to join together and work in concert. In the west they will outflank Europe on its southern wing and in the east they will surround China and Japan. In this way they can basically fulfill their global plans. Since the 1970's, the USSR has greatly expanded its naval strength in the Mediterranean Sea and in the Indian Ocean. In the middle East they have sought by every means possible to establish naval and air bases. In particular, at the end of 1979 they dispatched troops to Afghanistan. All this provides clear proof that the Soviet Union is carrying out its strategy of driving southward.

The reason why the Soviet Union selected the Middle East as its main direction of attack and as its area for penetration in its global strategy is

because the Middle East (including the Indian Ocean) is the oil supply base of the world and it links the two oceans. It occupies a major pivotal strategic position as it joins together the three continents of Europe, Asia and Africa. Furthermore, at present the Middle East is a weak link in the Western defense so conditions are favorable for the Soviets to carry out their strategy of driving southward. For a long time the USSR and the United States have been engaged in fierce rivalry primarily in the three strategic areas of Europe, the Far East and the Middle East. If the USSR now makes a strategic breakthrough on their eastern and western fronts, they will encounter formidable resistance on both sides. In Europe there is NATO and in Asia they will have to contend with the United States, China and Japan. In addition, there is a new U.S.-Australian organization, as well as ASEAN. However, in the Middle East the combined strength of opposition to the USSR is currently rather weak. After the war, the United States painstakingly built up the Baghdad Pact Organization and the Central Treaty Organization in the Middle East, both of which disintegrated in the 1950's and the 1960's. Towards the end of the 1960's, Great Britain implemented strategic withdrawal and withdrew their military forces to east of the Suez Canal. The Middle East became a "vacuum zone" of Western defense. In the last several years, the United States has organized new area defense organizations but so far they have not been successful. The destruction of Iran's Pahlavi monarchy caused the West to lose a major prop in the Middle East. In addition, in the Middle East complex contradictions exist among nationalities, religions and social classes, all of which provide ample opportunity for exploitation by the USSR. Although the United States has now increased their military deployments in the Middle East, the Middle East is after all far away from the United States and close to the USSR. Geographical conditions do not favor the United States.

After many years of building up the Middle East, even though the USSR has had successes and failures, in the overall view, they have managed to make substantial headway. This is primarily manifested in the following areas. (1) They have gained certain footholds. At present, the USSR already occupies Afghanistan. They have signed military "treaties of friendship and cooperation" with South Yemen, Ethiopia and Syria. By supplying arms to Libya and other countries, they have made them militarily dependent on them. The USSR has long lured others over, under the pretext of being "natural allies." They have expanded political, economic and party ties with certain nations. By relying on these ties, the USSR can use a variety of reasons to take advantage of these countries to infiltrate and expand into surrounding areas. (2) They have increased their military presence. Soviet garrison forces in the Middle East far outnumber those of any other Western country. In Afghanistan there is a contingent of 100,000 men. In Ethiopia, South Yemen, Syria and Libya there are as many as 10,000 military advisers and in Ethiopia there are also over 10,000 Cuban mercenary troops. Some countries have also admitted East German "military and police specialists." The naval strength of the USSR in this region is also very conspicuous. There are about 70 or 80 permanent warships stationed in the Indian Ocean and in the Mediterranean Sea. The USSR has established many naval bases in ports in South Yemen and Ethiopia. They also have access to use of port facilities in Syria and Libya. The Soviet military presence seriously threatens the

security of the Gulf oil region and Western oil passages. (3) They have won over several nationalist organizations and have built up their own influence in many countries. The PLO requires widespread support in their struggle to restore national rights. The USSR has taken advantage of this opportunity to establish all kinds of political and military ties with them. In the last few years, the USSR has propped up pro-Soviet Communist Parties in Iran, Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Egypt and most of the other Arab countries. At present, although the power of these parties is not great, indeed, some still operate underground, the Soviets have still managed to gain a long-term foothold. They have painstakingly built up the area and they hope that when there is a sudden change in the situation of these countries, they will be able to seize state power at this opportune moment. In addition, the USSR has also built up pro-Soviet influence among popular organizations of workers, youth, women and peasants as well as among religious and pacifist organizations in certain Middle Eastern countries.

#### The Principle Plans and Methods of the USSR in the Middle East Today

The Soviet offensive in the Middle East involves taking risks. However, their overall policy is to advance gradually and entrench themselves at every step, to take advantage of contradictions and to await an opportunity to take action. At present, the Soviet's major course of action is as follows:

(1) They intend to consolidate established positions and go all out to prevent losing what they have gained. In the 1970's, the USSR repeatedly lost what they had gained in the Middle East. In order to guard against a repeat performance of the "tragedy" that occurred in Egypt, Sudan and Somalia, the Soviets have strengthened their control of their positions. Furthermore, they have adopted a series of measures according to the differing conditions:

They have dispatched troops for immediate occupation. For example, in Afghanistan they have already set up permanent military camps and are prepared for a long stay.

They have urged certain countries to establish "Marxist political parties" based on the Soviet model thereby increasing their ideological domination. They regard bilateral treaties and agreements as links for developing special ties with certain nations.

They have urged countries under Soviet influence to establish reciprocal ties, to conclude agreements for military cooperation, to hold bilateral or multilateral meetings and to follow the Soviet line in international affairs or to work on their behalf, etc.

(2) They intend to close in on the Gulf and they have urged Iran, Saudi Arabia and other nations to break with the United States. The "primary target" for which the Soviets have been competing in the Middle East is the oil producing area of the Gulf. In addition to surrounding the Gulf from Afghanistan, South Yemen and Ethiopia, the USSR is at present mainly using



methods of intimidation and persuasion, their focal point being Iran and Saudi Arabia. The Soviets have been harassing the 25 divisions on the Soviet-Iranian border and have expanded their influence through the pro-Soviet political party in Iran. They have also made preparations to seize power in Iran and to coordinate external Soviet intervention. At the same time, the USSR has expressed goodwill toward Iran. During the Iranian hostage crisis they pretended to side with Iran and during the war between Iran and Iraq they have remained ambivalent in their support. As for Saudi Arabia, on the one hand, they have used South Yemen as a base area and they have propped up antigovernment organizations in Saudi Arabia thereby creating unrest. On the other hand, they have extended an olive branch. Brezhnev has personally guaranteed King Saud that South Yemen will not attack Saudi Arabia and he has proposed that the USSR and Saudi Arabia resume and expand trade relations as soon as possible. Since last year, in order to get a greater foothold in the Gulf, Brezhnev twice presented proposals to ensure the security of the Gulf area.

(3) They intend to take advantage of the Arab-Israeli conflict, to attack the United States and to isolate Egypt. At present, the Camp David talks have already reached an impasse. Since Reagan came to power the United States has sided even more with Israel thereby provoking strong resentment among Arab countries. The USSR is now using this fact plus the recent flare-up of the "Lebanon missile crisis" and the Israeli bombing of the Iraqi nuclear installation to launch an offensive. They have invited leaders of Kuwait, Jordan, Libya and Algeria to visit the USSR. They are trying to stir up anti-American sentiment among Arab countries to encourage them to break away from the United States. The USSR plans to take advantage of the divergence of opinions among Arab nations concerning the Arab-Israeli question to foment discord. They want to create divisions in the Arab world by ganging up against Egypt. Due to the fact that in the past few years the USSR has been excluded from the Middle East peace talks, they have vigorously advocated that they are an indispensable influence in resolving the Middle East question. During the 26th CPSU Congress, Brezhnev once again presented a proposal for convening an international conference on the Middle East.

(4) They intend to further expand their base network and strengthen their naval forces. In order for the USSR to counter recent military developments achieved by the United States in the Middle East and in order to match U.S. military deployments, they have strengthened their existing naval and air base installations. In addition, the Soviets are building new bases in Ethiopia's Dahlak Archipelago and in January of this year they talked the Maltese Government into signing an agreement to supply fuel. They thereby forced Malta to transfer the possession of their subterranean oil deposits (oil reserves of 300,000 tons), that had been used to supply the NATO fleet since the 1950's to the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean Sea.

#### Obstacles Faced by the Soviet Union

In the past 20 or so years the USSR has made substantial headway in the Middle East, however, once they have quickened the pace of their expansion in the Middle East, particularly into Afghanistan, neighboring countries are

becoming increasingly on guard against the USSR. This has alarmed the United States and other Western nations and resulted in the United States, Europe and Japan uniting to oppose the USSR. The Soviet ambition to carry out expansion is now confronting increasingly larger obstacles.

(1) The contradiction between Soviet hegemonism and local nationalism is escalating. More and more countries regard the USSR as a major threat to the Middle East. In looking at their attitudes toward the USSR, most countries in the Middle East can be divided into three classifications. One type has learned their lesson, they have come full circle from being on intimate terms with the Soviets to opposing them. This includes Egypt, Sudan and Somalia which have already taken the road of resistance against the USSR. Another type has consistently sided with the West and supported taking precautions against the USSR. This type includes Saudi Arabia, other monarchies, Turkey and the other countries that are commonly referred to as the "northern tier." They are faced with the threat of Soviet expansion and feel more insecure than ever before. At the same time when they are paying greater attention to strengthening their own defenses they are drawing closer to the United States and other Western allies in order to contend with the USSR. Several striking examples of this occurred recently. Saudi Arabia requested that the United States send AWACS to be stationed there. Oman has offered the United States access to military bases. After the military took over in Turkey, they once again strengthened ties with the United States and NATO. Pakistan withstood Soviet pressure and continued to uphold the resistance struggle of the people of Afghanistan. It is apparent that the tendency to unite in opposition to the USSR in the two types of countries mentioned above is growing. Sudan and Somalia have respectively signed joint military defense agreements with Egypt. The six monarchies around the Gulf--Saudi Arabia, Oman, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Qatar have already formed the "Gulf Cooperation Council." Relations between Saudi Arabia and Egypt are somewhat more flexible. The Egyptian Government has repeatedly stated their willingness to make every effort to defend the security of the Gulf and resist Soviet aggression. There are still other countries such as South Yemen, Ethiopia, Libya, etc., who still maintain quite close ties with the USSR. However, there have been developments in the struggle for control and against domination between these countries and the USSR. Even though some have been coerced into signing "treaties of friendship and cooperation" with the USSR, they are unwilling to become complete appendages of the USSR. In addition, while the Khomeyni regime in Iran has been strongly anti-American, they have also consistently been on guard against the USSR. They call the USSR a great power with as much "evil" as U.S. imperialism.

(2) The United States has totally revised their Middle Eastern strategy to contain a Soviet offensive. The Middle East and the Gulf are areas of "vital interest" to the United States. After the United States withdrew from Vietnam in the 1970's, they began to revise their Middle Eastern policies to prevent a Soviet offensive. After the shah of Iran fell from power and the USSR dispatched troops to Afghanistan thus speeding up their southern expansion, the United States became even more concerned with the Middle East region. In January of 1980, Carter announced that the Middle East was a

strategic area of "vital interest" to the United States and the United States would utilize all means necessary to safeguard the Persian Gulf, including military measures. After Reagan was elected president, the United States further emphasized the use of military strength to counter Soviet expansion. The United States considers their top priority in the Middle East to be the restoration of military balance with the USSR. According to a report in the WALL STREET JOURNAL on 15 June of this year, U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger disclosed that the United States has formulated a new "two war" strategy which will replace the former "one and a half war" strategy. The new strategy requires that the United States simultaneously prepare to fight at least two large-scale wars, one in Europe and one in another area, probably the Middle East. The fierce rivalry between the two hegemonist powers is becoming increasingly intense in the Middle East. At present, the United States is actively seeking a way to improve their strategic situation and to speed up the implementation of new plans.

They emphasize support for Israel and Egypt so that they will become "two major props" of the United States in militarily resisting the USSR. In the past 4 years, U.S. military aid to Israel has amounted to \$6.1 billion and military aid to Egypt has amounted to \$3.5 billion. In April of this year, the United States and Egypt reached a new agreement. It was determined that within the next 5 years the United States would again give Egypt up to \$3.5 billion in military aid so that they could completely replace their Soviet equipment. Since last year, U.S. and Egyptian Armed Forces have twice conducted simulated battle training in Egypt to practice defending the Persian Gulf.

The United States has accelerated preparations for establishing a Rapid Deployment Force and they are seeking naval and air bases. At present they have decided to draw on special funds in defense expenditures to establish naval and air transport corps and sea borne supply ships. Since last year, in addition to extending their agreement with Turkey concerning use of military bases, the United States has also reached agreements with Egypt, Oman, Somalia and Kenya concerning access to naval and air installations. Recently the United States also made contacts with Israel and Egypt hoping that the two Israeli air force bases set up in the Sinai Peninsula would be turned over to the United States for their long-term use. After the outbreak of war between Iran and Iraq, the U.S. Naval Fleet in the Indian Ocean consisted of 32 ships. Combined with the fleets of Great Britain, France and Australia there was a total of over 60 ships, surpassing the number of Soviet ships.

They have urged their West European allies to put more effort into "Middle East defense." The United States and the NATO allies have already reached a tentative agreement on sharing the responsibility. The United States has transferred some of its military force from NATO to be used in defending the Persian Gulf. After the outbreak of war between Iran and Iraq, the United States again suggested that Western Europe and the United States organize a joint naval fleet to defend the security of the Straits of Hormuz.

Plans were transmitted through political and diplomatic channels which mitigated the contradictions between the United States and countries of that

area. They continued to organize a front to resist the USSR in the Middle East. In April of this year, U.S. Secretary of State Haig visited the Middle East seeking to maintain a "unanimity of strategic viewpoints" between the United States and countries in that area in order to jointly resist the USSR. The United States has increased military aid to Pakistan. Since Iran and the United States reached a compromise with the Khomeyni regime concerning the hostage situation, the strained relations between the two countries have eased up. As for the Arab-Israeli question, in view of the fact that the Camp David Agreements have reached a stalemate, the Reagan administration is seeking a new solution. They are urging Saudi Arabia and Jordan to participate in the peace talks. The primary consideration of the United States is to set up a "new security structure" in the Middle East that would include the United States, the West European allies and countries from the Middle East area.

(3) Although contradictions exist between Western Europe and the United States, nevertheless, emphasis is still placed on uniting to resist the USSR. This would enable them to join with the United States to counter the Soviet threat. Strategically, the Middle East is a flank of Western Europe. Western Europe is even more dependent on Middle Eastern oil than the United States. They therefore are as concerned as the United States about the deterioration of the situation in the Middle East and in the Persian Gulf. At the same time as they engage in competition with the United States, they are also actively making a concerted effort with the United States to resist the USSR. As for the Afghan problem, they have all denounced the USSR and have demanded the total withdrawal of invading Soviet troops. They all have differing views of the Arab-Israeli problem and they are mindful of the predicament of the United States. They have taken the initiative in trying to find a solution with the United States for breaking through the stalemate in the Arab-Israeli peace talks. They have also taken the initiative in preventing the USSR from making any gains during this unrest. In recent years there has been a rapid development of economic ties and arms supplies between West European countries, especially between France and Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Although this may crowd out the U.S. market, on the whole it is of benefit to the struggle of Middle Eastern nations to resist and defend against the USSR. As for the military, Western Europe has also assisted the United States through the joint command of defense forces. After the outbreak of war between Iran and Iraq, U.S. and British naval forces conducted joint maneuvers in the Persian Gulf while France dispatched warships to the Indian Ocean. In February of this year, when British Prime Minister Thatcher visited the United States she publicly proposed that the United States, Great Britain and France set up a rapid deployment force in the Middle East in order to improve the security of the Persian Gulf.

To sum up, as the Soviets accelerate their expansion southward, countries in the Middle East will proceed to unite in opposition to hegemonism. It will be extremely difficult for the USSR to fulfill their strategic plans as hoped. However, contradictions between Middle Eastern countries and the West and contradictions within the West itself may still persist. Uniting to oppose the USSR is a complicated situation. Regarding the rivalry between the two hegemonist powers, the USSR and the United States, it will be

difficult to reverse the military situation in which the USSR is on the offensive and the United States is on the defensive in the near future. At present both sides are striving to strengthen their own military deployments and they are both moving from political confrontation to military confrontation. Factors leading to warfare in the Middle East are clearly on the increase. The possibility of the USSR seeking an opportunity to reenact the Afghanistan incident in the Middle East cannot be ruled out. Once Iran began to disintegrate, the possibility of Soviet intervention was great. However, as the two hegemonist powers are evenly matched and as both fear direct confrontation in the Middle East, it is believed that in the early part of the 1980's the possibility of war breaking out in the Middle East is not great. Nevertheless, the overall situation will become increasingly unstable.

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CSO: 4005/871

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JAPANESE OFFICIAL DISCUSSES NORTHERN TERRITORIES

OW231244 Beijing XINHUA in English 1231 GMT 23 May 82

[Text] Tokyo, 23 May (XINHUA)--The director-general of the Japanese prime minister's office, Kunio Tanabe, said yesterday that the national movement for the Soviet return of Japan's northern territories must be pushed forward so as to effect an early recovery of these inherent territories.

Kunio Tanabe made the statement to Japanese newsmen after he made an inspection tour on the waters off the northern territories. The newspaper YOMIURI SHIMBUN said that Tanabe yesterday visited the "northern hall", in Nemuro, in which materials and data about the northern territories are on display. After that, he viewed the Soviet-occupied northern territories on board a patrol boat of the Maritime Defence Agency.

On the evening of May 21, Tanabe had a talk with personages from those organizations active in the movement for the recovery of the northern territories. He said that since the Japanese Government designated "the day of northern territories" and Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki viewed the northern territories from a distance, the Japanese nationals have become more eager for a solution to this problem and a movement to this effect is developing nationwide.

Tanabe told newsmen, "I have seen with my own eyes the northern four islands from a short distance. The recovery of the northern territories--a long cherished desire of the Japanese nationals--must be realized at an early date by relying on the united efforts of the government and the entire people."

CSO: 4004/122

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### JAPAN, U.S., EUROPE LEGISLATORS FORM SECURITY BODY

OW121630 Beijing XINHUA in English 1539 GMT 12 May 82

[Text] Tokyo, 12 May (XINHUA)--Parliamentarians of the ruling Japanese Liberal-Democratic Party and three opposition parties met here today to formally launch a Japan-U.S.-Europe parliamentarian's security consultative group to discuss overall security issues.

The supra-partisan body is the first group ever established for mutual exchange of information to promote a common understanding of security problems among Japan, the United States and Europe.

As of this afternoon, 150 members had signed up, including the Liberal-Democratic Party, 114; Komeito, 11; Democratic Socialist Party, 18; and New Liberal Club, 7. Asao Mihara, Liberal-Democratic Dietman and former director general of Defence Agency, was nominated the group's chairman.

An announcement of the group said: "The international situation in the 1980s is characterized by increasing volatile factors and growing threat to world peace due to Soviet military buildup on a global scale and its notable infiltration into the Middle East and the Third World and the abnormal economy in Western countries."

The announcement said no sufficient understanding exists between Japan and the United States on the Soviet threat and on their bilateral trade frictions for lack of frank exchange of views on their national strategy and timely readjustment in this respect.

Noting that the Japan-Europe relations could hardly be regarded as "very close," it pointed out: "It is essential for the Western countries to cope with the threat to world peace by making efficient cooperation and taking the overall situation into consideration. Therefore, mutual cooperation and unity among Japan, the United States and Europe is very important."

CSO: 4004/122

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' NOTES WORLD HEALTH ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS

OW150258 Beijing XINHUA in English 0237 GMT 15 May 82

[Text] Geneva, 14 May (XINHUA)--The 35th World Health Assembly closed here today after adopting a number of resolutions.

The two-week assembly approved the seventh general program of the World Health Organization (WHO) for 1984-1989. This is a medium-term program of WHO's global strategy, "Health for all by the year 2000." The main thrust of the global strategy is to help member countries develop primary health care for the whole population. The programs include measures for health promotion, disease prevention, diagnosis, therapy and rehabilitation. The assembly noted that realization of the "health for all by the year 2000" program will require not only efforts of health workers but all human resources.

The assembly also adopted a resolution inviting WHO member states and the international community to collaborate in WHO's action program on essential drugs. WHO has already drawn up model lists of some 200 basic drugs and vaccines for effective and economical health programs in developing countries. The lists can be adapted to the specific needs of each member state.

The assembly encouraged breast-feeding. It urged the member countries to observe the "international code of marketing of breast-milk substitutes" adopted last year.

The assembly also urged all the countries in the world to intensify their efforts to control diarrheal diseases as part of primary health care, which will have immediate impact on early childhood mortality.

It called for intensified international cooperation on the control of cancer.

Other resolutions adopted by the assembly covered the worsening health conditions of the Arab population in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories including Palestine, assistance to Africa's front-line states, health assistance to refugees in Africa, and health care for the elderly.

CSO: 4004/122



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### U.S. PROFESSOR WRITES ON WORLD FOOD TRADE

OW240718 Beijing XINHUA in English 0703 GMT 24 May 82

[Text] Geneva, 23 May (XINHUA)--Hawaii University Professor of Political Science George Kent takes issue with some U.S. economic planners on their argument that the developed countries, particularly the United States, feed the world.

In an article entitled "The Poor Feed the Rich" carried by the United Nations' journal DEVELOPMENT FORUM in May, Professor Kent cited eloquent facts and figures to uphold his view.

A recent report of the "U.S. President's Commission on World Hunger" said that "the United States is still the 'breadbasket of the world'".

Criticizing this point of view, Professor Kent pointed out in his article that "most of the grain sold by developed countries is sold to other developed countries." "Only about a fifth of the grain in international trade goes to less developed countries. That proportion is projected to be even smaller by the year 2000."

Referring to U.S. agricultural exports in 1978, Kent noted that over two-thirds of all U.S. agricultural exports went to the wealthy countries having the per capita GNP about 3,000 U.S. dollars.

The professor said of the food imports, the developing countries chiefly import grain, while the developed import from developing countries large quantities of protein-rich foods such as meat and fish in addition to grain.

He said that of the food which entered into international trade in 1976, 11.9 per cent went from richer to poorer countries, while 20.2 per cent went from poorer to richer countries. Developed countries exported 3.8 times as much food to other developed countries as they did to developing countries. Developing countries exported 3.1 times as much to developed countries as they did to other developing countries.

It indicated that the developed countries export 61.7 per cent of the total food exports, but they take out a larger share--67.7 per cent. The developing

countries put in 30.9 per cent of the total value of food entering into world trade, but they take only 20.4 per cent.

After citing these figures, Professor Kent concluded that most of the international food trade is among developed countries, that there is little trade among the less developed countries, and that in the trade between the two groups, food tends to flow from the less developed to the more highly developed countries.

CSO: 4004/122

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. ORDERS POLISH DIPLOMATS TO LEAVE COUNTRY

OW140314 Beijing XINHUA in English 0252 GMT 14 May 82

[Text] Washington, 13 May (XINHUA)--The United States today ordered two Polish diplomats to leave the country "in retaliation for the Polish Government's expulsion" of two American diplomats, State Department spokesman Alan Romberg said.

The United States also suspended travel by scientists of on-going jointly-financed scientific research projects between the two countries following Polish accusations that visiting American scientists are engaged in espionage activities.

Romberg said Andrzej Koroscik, attache for science and technology, and Mariusz Wozniak, political officer, of the Polish Embassy in Washington have been told to leave the country before midnight, May 17.

On May 10 the Polish Government demanded that two American diplomats--John Zerolis, scientific attache, and J. Daniel Howard, cultural affairs officer--leave Poland by May 14 for "promoting destabilizing activity."

The United States and Poland had been conducting cooperative scientific research in Poland under an agreement signed in 1974. The agreement expired on December 31, 1981. Early this year, the United States suspended discussions with the Polish authorities for a new agreement beyond 1981, but work had continued on incomplete research projects under the 1974 agreement.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' VIEWS PROBLEMS OF AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT

OW220134 Beijing XINHUA in English 0113 GMT 22 May 82

["News analysis: Australia's Ruling Liberal Party in Political Dilemma"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Canberra, 20 May (XINHUA)--To Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser and his ruling Liberal Party, the passing autumn has been a season full of troubles.

Starting from mid-March, the Liberal Party, the largest party in Australia's coalition government, has met a series of challenges in both the by-election of the Federal Parliament and local elections, with the heaviest blow coming from the election in the State of Victoria in which the opposition Labor Party defeated the Liberals and brought their 27-year rule of the state to an end.

The southern State of Victoria was the birth-place of Liberalism. With a concentrated population and developed industry plus a national financial center Melbourne as the capital, the area had been an important stronghold of the Liberal Party. The swing of power to the Labor Party there has greatly weakened the position of the Liberals.

Following the crushing defeat of the Victoria election, resigned Foreign Minister Andrew Peacock failed to challenge Fraser's leadership of the Liberal Party, and the treasurer John Howard replaced Phillip Lynch as the deputy Liberal leader in a party vote on April 7.

This was followed by the resignation of two Liberal ministers who had been involved in a tax evasion scandal.

Then, after restructuring the government and personnel last weekend, Prime Minister Fraser embarked on a state visit journey to Washington and Tokyo.

Earlier, the Liberal Party was put through its first crucial contest of this year with the Labor Party in a mid-March by-election in New South Wales' Lowe District. To its great surprise, the Liberal Party lost nine percent of its votes in the election held due to the resignation of Sir William McMahon who had been a Liberal MP of that district ever since 1949.

The defeats in Victoria and New South Wales' Lowe District have deprived the Liberal Party of two important states with developed industry and concentrated population. This is an indication that the Liberal's foundation has been seriously weakened, especially in the big cities.

Political observers here pointed out that the election results in Victoria bespoke of the Australian people's resentment against the Liberal Party's economic policy of high interest rates, rising unemployment, double-digit inflation, high income taxes and low economic growth.

Affected by an overall economic recession, Australia has faced a general deteriorating economy at home. In addition to its declining economic growth, double-digit inflation and rising unemployment since the beginning of the year, rapid increases of imports and stagnant exports have plunged the country's international payments deep in the red. As the Australian dollar has dipped continuously at the foreign exchange market since last August, the Australian Government was forced to adopt a high interest rate policy in support of the Australian dollar and to keep a balance with the high interest rates of the United States. But this has hit the big and small debtors at home hard.

The Liberal Party is now facing a dilemma: a continued tight money policy and high interest rates will arouse deeper dissatisfaction among the electorate and bring serious effects to the next general election in 1983; but to relax financial restrictions may cause further inflation and other serious results to the national economy.

Moreover, as a major exporter of agricultural and mineral products, Australia is very sensitive to international price fluctuations of raw materials. Therefore, without a substantial economic upturn in the United States and other Western countries in the second half of the year, it seems very unlikely for Australia's economy to turn for the better and the ruling alliance will eventually meet greater challenges in next year's general election.

Observers here noted that it was against such a background that Fraser went on his state visits to the United States and Japan. He wanted to let the United States and Japan "hear Australia's voice" before the upcoming economic summit of seven Western countries to be held in France at the beginning of June.

CSO: 4004/122

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MANILA CONFERENCE ON APARTHEID REPORTED

OW261722 Beijing XINHUA in English 1613 GMT 26 May 82

[Text] Manila, 26 May (XINHUA)--An Asian conference on apartheid today denounced South Africa for its policy of racial segregation and announced its support for the liberation South African and Namibian people.

In a declaration issued at the end of a three-day meeting here, the Asian regional conference for action against apartheid also strongly condemned Israel and Taiwan for growing economic, military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

The conference also affirmed the right of the people of South Africa and Namibia "to choose armed struggle as their means of struggle for liberation." It said the international community has a duty to support their legitimate struggle and to "assist it in destroying apartheid by exerting sufficient pressure on the racist regime through sanctions and other effective measures."

It emphasized the need for the full implementation of the United Nations mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, the effective enforcement of the embargoes imposed by oil exporting states to prevent supplies of oil to South Africa, cessation of loans to and investments in South Africa and the implementation of the other economic measures recommended by the United Nations. It also emphasized the implementation of sports, cultural and other boycotts against South Africa.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### U.S. NUCLEAR WARSHIP VISITS NEW ZEALAND

OW251600 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 25 May 82

[Text] Wellington, 25 May (XINHUA)--A nuclear-powered warship of the United States, USS Truxtun, sailed into Wellington harbor this morning, beginning a four-day visit to New Zealand's capital.

Explaining the reason for accepting the U.S. nuclear warship's visit, Prime Minister R. Muldoon said last month, "Under the ANZUS treaty we have a clear obligation to help our allies maintain their capacity to resist armed attack.... We have therefore no hesitation in agreeing to the American request for another visit by the USS Truxtun."

Interviewed by the NZPA, the minister of foreign affairs, Cooper said: "It's on our invitation in respect of the fact that we like the Americans to show their flag here...."

The Truxtun was greeted by public protests. A motley flotilla of some 25 protest craft surrounded the Truxtun as she entered Wellington harbor this morning.

The Wellington Trades Council called on all affiliated unions to stop work for two hours today in protest against Truxtun's visit. The 1,000 members of the Wellington Drivers' Union stopped work from 3 pm to 5 pm. The harbor workers held a 24-hour strike in protest.

The Wellington City Council had declared the capital a nuclear-free zone last month.

The 8,800-ton, 170-meter Truxtun is powered by two nuclear reactors, and has a crew of about 500 officers and men.

It is her third visit to N.Z. since 1976.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BANGLADESH, INDIA ISSUE COMMUNIQUE ON TALKS

OW231644 Beijing XINHUA in English 1605 GMT 23 May 82

[Text] Dacca, 23 May (XINHUA)--Bangladesh and India agreed today to intensify efforts to find a mutually acceptable solution to problems of sharing the Ganges waters and increasing its flow.

A joint press communique issued at the end of two-day talks between the visiting Indian External Affairs Minister Narasimha Rao and Shamsud Doha, adviser to the Bangladesh chief martial law administrator, also says that the two countries agreed to meet frequently and approach the matter in a spirit of goodwill, cordiality and good neighborliness.

All other outstanding issues between the two countries, including implementation of the land boundary agreement of 1974, the dispute over the ownership of the South Talpatty Island and delineation of the maritime boundary, should be resolved peacefully through amicable negotiations as soon as possible, the communique says.

The two countries agreed that bilateral relations should be given further impetus through frequent consultations and exchange of visits at all levels to promote an atmosphere of goodwill conducive to further consolidation and strengthening of these ties and the resolution of all outstanding problems, according to the press communique.

It says that a joint economic commission will be set up with a view to further developing economic and technical cooperation between the two countries to their mutual benefit.

The two countries agreed to take all steps in close concert with other countries in the South Asian region to maintain the momentum of progress in implementing the proposal for regional cooperation among the South Asian countries, the communique concludes.

The Indian external affairs minister is leaving here for home this afternoon.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'VODK' CITES ARMY COMMUNIQUE ON SRV OFFENSIVE

OW121254 Beijing XINHUA in English 1236 GMT 12 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 12 May (XINHUA)--The mopping-up operations launched by the Vietnamese authorities in the last dry-season in Kampuchea have become a fiasco. Meanwhile, the Kampuchean National Army instead of being annihilated has grown stronger.

This was stated in a communique issued by the general headquarters of the Kampuchean National Army on May 8 and broadcast today by Radio Democratic Kampuchea.

The communique said in the last dry season from November 1981 to April 1982, Vietnam sent in over 10,000 fresh troops to reinforce the Vietnamese troops already deployed in Kampuchea who launched several large-scale mopping-up operations in Western Kampuchea in an attempt to grab land under the control of Democratic Kampuchea and regain the initiative in the battlefields. However, the Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas had not only successfully preserved their own strength but also wiped out a considerable enemy effectives, in repulsing the Vietnamese offensives.

The communique pointed out that Vietnamese troops deployed in the eastern and central war theatres in Kampuchea in the dry season turned out to be weaker and the scale of mopping-ups they launched much smaller compared with that of the previous dry season. In the western war theatre where Vietnamese troops had carried out considerably big mopping-up operations, the offensives were only confined to four battlefronts--the Chhep-Reabarivoat, the Siemreap-Angkor-Highway 6, the Northern Koh Kong, and the Sisophon battlefronts. Each time a mopping-up operation was launched, 7,000 to 10,000 Vietnamese troops were thrown into these four battlefronts. By so doing, Hanoi was showing off its strength to the world that it was still strong enough to occupy and control Kampuchea. But in these four major mopping-ups, the Vietnamese aggressor troops had all failed to obtain their objectives after suffering a considerable loss of men and war supplies.

The communique said in their resistance against the Vietnamese, the national army and guerrillas had successfully preserved their own strength by stepping up guerrilla activities in squads or in smaller groups. They had hit the Vietnamese enemy the hardest they could by wearing down the enemy and cutting off enemy communication lines. Statistics show that in the last dry season,

the Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas attacked and overran 186 Vietnamese strongholds, dislodging Vietnamese mobile units on 164 occasions, ambushing Vietnamese convoys 40 times, cutting off or destroying 254 sections of highways and 258 sections of railway lines, cutting off strategic highways No 4, No 5 and No 6 on many occasions as well as the Phnom Penh-Battambang and Phnom Penh-Kompong Som railway lines. In addition, the national army and guerrillas also had recovered all the communes, villages they lost to the enemy early in the dry season, and liberated 17 more communes and 317 villages.

During the dry-season, the communique said, the Vietnamese troops were thrown into confusion and its morale was very low. According to incomplete figures, 2,560 Vietnamese soldiers deserted, 182 were killed in in-fighting within the army, 3,270 soldiers of the Phnom Penh puppet troops fled away and another 477 crossed over to the national army and guerrillas.

The communique pointed out the Kampuchean people have gone through three rainy-seasons and four dry-seasons in their war of resistance against the Vietnamese aggressors. The Le Duan clique was landed in a predicament. Strategically, it has lost in the Kampuchean battlefield. It will suffer greater defeat if Hanoi continues its war in the future.

It stressed in conclusion that the Kampuchean people's fight against the Vietnamese aggressors would be arduous and difficult. Therefore, they have to persist in a protracted war and an active and flexible tactics. They will surely win the final victory.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DPRK MEMORANDUM URGES U.S. WITHDRAWAL FROM ROK

OW211812 Beijing XINHUA in English 1539 GMT 21 May 82

[Text] Pyongyang, 21 May (XINHUA)--The Foreign Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea released a memorandum Thursday, urging the withdrawal of U.S. aggressor troops from South Korea and an end to U.S. interference in Korea's internal affairs.

The memorandum was released on the occasion of the centenary of the Korea-U.S. treaty which was concluded on May 22, 1882. It noted that the treaty is an "aggressive, subjugating and unequal treaty."

The three-part memorandum, carried in the newspaper NODONG SINMUN, enumerated a host of facts to expose the acts of aggression and plunder committed by the United States in the past 100 years. It said that the U.S. aggression has brought about a division in the unique nation of Korea with a long-standing history and culture. And the United States, by pursuing a "two Koreas" policy, has tried in every possible way to obstruct Korea's peaceful reunification.

The memorandum said, "So long as the U.S. imperialist aggressor troops hang on in South Korea and the U.S. Administration continues pursuing its policy of aggression against Korea, it will be impossible for the Korean people to enjoy full national sovereignty, to achieve reunification of the nation or to see peace in Korea," it stressed.

"In order for the Korean people to solve the question of Korean reunification independently by themselves," it noted, "it is imperative to force the U.S. imperialist aggressor troops out of South Korea and put an end to the U.S. imperialist' interference in the internal affairs of Korea."

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BANGLADESH, SAUDI ARABIA ISSUE JOINT COMMUNIQUE

OW052046 Beijing XINHUA in English 1657 GMT 5 May 82

[Text] Dacca, 4 May (XINHUA)--Bangladesh and Saudi Arabia today reiterated their demand for immediate withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghan soil and the need for creation of conditions in Afghanistan for her people to determine their own destiny free from any external interference.

This is contained in a joint communique issued simultaneously from Dacca and Riyadh on the conclusion of a three-day visit to the Kingdom of Saudia Arabia by Bangladesh Chief Martial Law Administrator Hussain Mohammad Ershad who returned here this evening.

The communique said that the two sides reviewed the global political and economic situation and underlined the necessity of promoting and strengthening international peace and security based on the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and peaceful settlement of all disputes.

They emphasized the need for total adherence to the principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter and the Organisation of Islamic Conference. While reviewing the current situation in the Middle East the two leaders reiterated their firm conviction that a just and permanent peace in this region can be achieved only on the basis of complete and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and restoration of the legitimate and inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish an independent state in their own homeland under the leadership of the PLO, their sole and legitimate representative.

They rejected the Israeli act to annex the holy city of Jerusalem as illegal and invalid and a gross violation of all international laws and conventions. The two leaders strongly condemned the Israeli move for annexation of the Golan Heights and the latest outrage of killing in holy Al-Aqsa Mosque.

The two leaders expressed their deep concern over the continuing conflict between Iran and Iraq. The two leaders reiterated their full support for the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean and its natural extensions and reaffirmed that safeguarding of security and stability in the areas was the responsibility of the Gulf States only without any foreign interference.

While reviewing the international economic situation they emphasized the need to turn into concrete shape the Cancun spirit, hold global negotiations and implement the new programme of action for the least developed countries.

The two leaders also expressed their resolve to intensify their efforts in furthering economic cooperation among the developing countries. Referring to bilateral relations the two leaders expressed their deep satisfaction at the achievements. They reaffirmed their determination to further cooperate in the fields of trade and commerce and in economic, scientific, cultural and educational spheres.

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## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

### NEW STRIKE IN ASSAM PROTESTS ALIENS ISSUE

OW070805 Beijing XINHUA in English 0721 GMT 7 May 82

[Text] New Delhi, 6 May (XINHUA)--Agitation and turmoil over the aliens' issue in Assam States intensified with a 24-hour general strike today.

The strike called by the all Assam Students Union and other organizations demanded the expulsion of aliens from the state.

Normal life in the state was affected with all private buses and trucks kept off the roads. But public transport services were operating, according to a report from the state.

In Gauhati, the state capital, most of the business and commercial centres, including shops and markets were closed. Government offices were open with very thin attendance. However, oil production continued unaffected.

The state government had deployed police and para-military forces throughout the state to control the situation, and about 50 persons were arrested in different parts of the state.

In the past two years, Assam has been beset by turbulence. The local residents have repeatedly demanded that the aliens, people coming from other states and neighbouring Bangladesh, be driven out of Assam.

Lengthy talks between the agitators and the government have been held with no concrete results so far. On March 18, the union government decided to bring Assam under direct rule of the president.

CSO: 4004/122

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI PAPER CITES SAWETSILA ON SRV PROPOSAL

OW081301 Beijing XINHUA in English 1159 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] Bangkok, 8 May (XINHUA)--Thai foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila yesterday described Vietnam's suggestion that the Kampuchean seat at the United Nations be left empty during this year's General Assembly session as nothing but "old political tactics", the BANGKOK POST reported today.

He said this in response to the proposal outlined by this Vietnamese counterpart Nguyen Co Thach in an interview with the AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE in Hanoi on May 6.

"The Vietnamese want the Kampuchean seat, now occupied by the representative of the Democratic Kampuchean Government, to be left empty so that they can later propose that it be filled by a representative of the Heng Samrin regime," the foreign minister said.

He said he was certain there would be no change in the seating position in the United Nations this year. In fact, he added, if the three Kampuchean resistance factions can form a coalition government in time, they will pick up more support for their continued representation in the General Assembly.

"The Association of Southeast Asian Nations prefers that the legitimate government of Kampuchea retain its seat," he declared.

He pointed out that the Vietnamese repeat the same call every year while Democratic Kampuchea receives increasing support at the United Nations.

Sitthi denied Thach's claim that Thai leaders had agreed to meet him. Speaking about his two earlier meetings with Thach, he said, "I realised that there was nothing to be discussed." "I wanted to talk to him about the implementation of the UN resolution on Kampuchea but he kept insisting that there was no problem in Kampuchea to be discussed."

Though Thailand and its ASEAN partners agreed that Vietnam's proposals for meetings were nothing new, he said, Thailand still keeps the door open for discussion of any new idea. He also reaffirmed that any future contacts should begin at the lower level.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'VODK' REPORTS DK CABINET ON WET SEASON TASKS

OW051323 Beijing XINHUA in English 1244 GMT 5 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 5 May (XINHUA)--A cabinet meeting of the Democratic Kampuchean Government presided over by Prime Minister Khieu Samphan reviewed and summed up the work in dry-season 1981-82 and put forward the tasks for the 1982 rainy-season, according to Radio Democratic Kampuchea today.

A statement issued at the meeting which was held from April 20 to 21 said the meeting expressed satisfaction over the success of the government work in the dry-season. "The Vietnamese aggressor troops withdrew their troops from the Phnom Malai-Phnom Makheum battlefield in disorder on April 12, 1982. The day can be regarded as a historic date of the Kampuchean Army and people in frustrating Vietnam's 1981-82 dry-season mopping-up operation. The Vietnamese aggressors believed that the dry-season was the last during which they could completely wipe out the Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas."

The statement said that simultaneously with the crushing of the Vietnamese mopping-up operation in the dry season, the Kampuchean National Army and guerrilla forces have also expanded the liberated areas. The Kampuchean people have thus seen clearly that the Democratic Kampuchean troops constitute the main force against the Vietnamese aggression, the statement added. It stressed that the Democratic Kampuchean force has won stronger support in the international arena.

The statement said, "The Democratic Kampuchean Government does not want to resolve the Kampuchean problem by resorting to the use of force only, but welcomes all measures leading to Vietnam's withdrawal from Kampuchea. But at present, the Vietnamese aggressors are forcing us to take up arms."

"As to national union," it said, "Democratic Kampuchea took the initiative in proposing private negotiations with other Kampuchean forces against Vietnam and signed the Singapore joint statement in September, 1981." "In order to achieve national union of the country, Democratic Kampuchea has made various sacrifices and concessions. At present, the Democratic Kampuchean Government must lead in the anti-Vietnamese struggle, otherwise, the nation will be destroyed," it pointed out.

The statement called upon the Kampuchean people and soldiers to hold high the flag of national union and make concerted efforts in counterattacking



the mopping-up of the Vietnamese troops to be launched in this year's rainy season. It called upon the Kampuchean people and soldiers to implement better the political program of the patriotic and democratic front of the great nation union of Kampuchea and unite friends all over the world in their struggle.

The statement also called upon friendly countries of the world to maintain at the next UN General Assembly conference the legitimate seat of Democratic Kampuchea and force Vietnam to implement UN resolutions and continue to provide all kinds of assistance to the fighting Kampuchean people.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DK RADIO HITS SRV PROPOSAL ON UN SEAT

OW091024 Beijing XINHUA in English 0800 GMT 9 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 9 May (XINHUA)--Radio Democratic Kampuchea in a commentary today stressed the need to foil Hanoi's attempt to leave the Kampuchean seat at the United Nations vacant. It called upon all peace-loving and justice-upholding countries to maintain Democratic Kampuchea's legitimate seat at the 37th session of the UN General Assembly.

The commentary says that Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach, in a recent interview with AFP, said the United Nations should leave the seat of Democratic Kampuchea vacant if it wanted to make contributions to the settlement of the Kampuchean problem. This is the dirtiest diplomatic trick of the Le Duan clique aimed to deprive Democratic Kampuchea of its legitimate seat and to squeeze the puppet regime in Phnom Penh into the United Nations so as to obtain something which had not been obtained in the Kampuchean battlefields in the past three years.

Everyone knows, it says, the root cause of the Kampuchean problem is Vietnam's aggression against an independent and sovereign state, which endangers peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

To leave the D.K. seat at the United Nations vacant, the commentary points out, will mean punishment to the victim, and reward for the aggressor and will set an extremely dangerous precedent for the small and weak nations in the world. That's why many countries have supported Democratic Kampuchea's seat at the United Nations in the past few years. This demonstrates the inevitable tendency in the United Nations to safeguard the UN Charter and the international law, it says.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

VIETNAMESE GUERRILLAS--Beijing, 19 May (XINHUA)--Vietnamese guerrillas in Tay Nguyen area attacked the government forces stationed at Pleirei, Pleitei and Pleihait of Pleiku, Gia Lai Province from February 3 to 26. They killed 22 government soldiers, wounded 20 others and captured 18 pieces of arms, according to Radio Democratic Kampuchea today quoting a report from Vietnam. During the same period, the guerrillas repeatedly ambushed the government forces along their communication lines in Kon Tum Province and attacked government garrisons at Pleasas and Pleakrang, killing 14 government troops and wounding 18 others. During the attacks the guerrillas also captured 11 pieces of arms and destroyed an ammunition depot. [Text] [OW110038 Beijing XINHUA in English 0803 GMT 10 May 82]

PAKISTANI PACT WITH INDIA--Islamabad, 16 May (XINHUA)--Pakistani Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Ali Khan told reporters here yesterday evening that the interest of both Pakistan and India would be best served by the early conclusion of a non-aggression pact, according to APP. He was replying to a question at Karachi airport on his return from a two-week tour of a number of Islamic and Arab countries. He said Pakistan and India have discussed some elements of the proposed pact of non-aggression and non-use of force. The requisite ground for the promotion of mutual friendship and cooperation can be effectively prepared through this approach, he added. The foreign minister said, "There is also no element of doubt or ambiguity about the proposal regarding the establishment of a joint commission. Pakistan has welcomed the proposal in principle and is prepared to discuss the terms of reference, composition and other aspects of the commission at a mutually convenient time." [Text] [OW161217 Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 16 May 82]

KAMPUCHEA'S HUN SEN IN USSR--Moscow, 16 May (XINHUA)--The Phnom Penh puppet regime's Foreign Minister Hun Sen today ended his week-long visit to the Soviet Union, according to a TASS report. Hun Sen discussed with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko mainly on the Southeast Asian situation, a "joint communique" issued here said. At a banquet on May 10, Gromyko said that the Soviet Union "fully endorses and supports" the "peace proposals" put forward by Hanoi and the Heng Samrin regime--proposals aimed at legalizing Vietnam's military occupation of Kampuchea. He said that the Phnom Penh regime "can continue to expect full assistance and support from the Soviet Union." [Text] [OW170734 Beijing XINHUA in English 0715 GMT 17 May 82]

INDIA COOPERATION WITH AFGHANISTAN--New Delhi, 18 May (XINHUA)--India will step up its technical and economic assistance to Afghanistan under a protocol signed between the two countries in Kabul today, according to a PTI report. The protocol was signed by Natwar Singh, Indian secretary of external affairs, and the Afghan deputy foreign minister at the conclusion of a three-day meeting of the Indo-Afghan joint commission. Under the protocol, the number of Indian experts in health and other fields, which had dwindled from 150 to 29 in view of the situation in Afghanistan, is likely to increase modestly. [Text] [OW180838 Beijing XINHUA in English 0811 GMT 18 May 82]

JAPAN'S DEFENSE POLICY REVIEWED--Tokyo, 20 May (XINHUA)--A meeting today of Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki's cabinet stressed the need to increase defense of the country's seaports and to stockpile foodstuffs, energy resources and rare metals. Soichiro Ito, director general of the Defense Agency said that it was necessary to secure the country's seaports, which he said would contribute to the Japan-U.S. security system. He urged the cabinet to decide on measures to strengthen the defense of the seaports. Agriculture, forestry and fisheries Minister Kichiro Tazawa said that because of agricultural production shortages and unstable supplies of foodstuffs in the international market, it is necessary for Japan to enhance self-sufficiency in grain, to ensure stable food imports and to store more foodstuffs. In other business, Director General Ichiro Nakagawa of the Science and Technology Agency said the government should review its policy of restricting defense expenditures to less than 1 percent of the country's Gross National Product. [Text] [OW201846 Beijing XINHUA in English 1839 GMT 20 May 82]

UNESCO OFFICIAL TO KAMPUCHEA--Beijing, 20 May (XINHUA)--A representative of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has expressed appreciation of the Democratic Kampuchean Government's efforts to safeguard and promote national culture, Radio Democratic Kampuchea reported today. UNESCO Assistant Director-General Dragojem Najman was impressed by these efforts during his recent visit to Democratic Kampuchea. He met with Deputy Prime Minister in charge of foreign affairs Ieng Sary, who briefed him on the current situation in Kampuchea. They discussed in particular how to preserve the historical sites of Angkor Wat. Both held that this cannot be done before the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. Najman was the first UNESCO representative to visit Democratic Kampuchean areas. During his tour he visited hospitals, schools and new villages. [Text] [OW200731 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 20 May 82]

THAIS RELEASE VIETNAMESE--Bangkok, 21 May (XINHUA)--The Thai Government today returned 12 Vietnamese crew men and soldiers of an Antonov-26 aircraft which had intentionally intruded into Thai airspace and crashlanded in eastern Thailand in February. The ashes of a Vietnamese soldier who died in the crash also were returned. The handover ceremony was held at the military wing of the Don Muang airport in Bangkok, after the Vietnamese Government had expressed "regret" over the incident and promised to prevent further intrusions in the future. The Thai Foreign Ministry distributed a statement at the airport which said adequate evidences have proved that "the Vietnamese aircraft has intentionally violated Thailand's sovereignty." The Vietnamese plane crashlanded in February 11 in Pong Saeng Village, Prachinburi Province, 75 kilometers into Thai territory. The statement said the incident adversely

affected Thailand's security and its relations with Vietnam. The statement said the Thai Government "released the Vietnamese military men and allowed Vietnam to recover the wreckage of the aircraft out of the interests of Thailand-Vietnam relations and on humanitarian grounds." [Text] [OW211631 Beijing XINHUA in English 1617 GMT 21 May 82]

USSR, INDIA SPACE RESEARCH--Moscow, 22 May (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union will help India complete its space research program for the 1980s. An agreement to this effect was signed here today between the two countries. The agreement provides for the launching by the Soviet Union of an Indian satellite for probing natural resources of the earth in the mid-1980s. By now, the Soviet Union has helped India manufacture and launch three artificial satellites. [Text] [OW221804 Beijing XINHUA in English 1533 GMT 22 May 82]

U.S.-MADE TANKS IN THAILAND--Bangkok, 25 May (XINHUA)--Five tanks of the M-48 A 5 type, the first batch of its kind purchased from the United States this year, were transported here yesterday. Earlier, U.S. planes sent 155-mm guns to Thailand on May 22. Gen Saiyut Koetphon, supreme commander of the Thai armed forces, told reporters yesterday that these new types of weapons will be sent to Prachinburi Province bordering Kampuchea at the quickest pace possible to equip artillery and tank units guarding the frontier. They will be also used in the joint military exercise to be held in that area at the end of the month to test the fighting and defending capabilities of various armed forces, he added. He said it is necessary to renew the military equipment of the Thai armed forces to maintain state security. [Text] [OW251220 Beijing XINHUA in English 1209 GMT 25 May 82]

CSO: 4004/122

## PARTY AND STATE

### FIRST TALK ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW281301 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 27 May 82

[Radio talk by Zhang Youyu, vice president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: "Why Is the Constitution Revised?"--first of a series of 14 radio talks on the draft revised constitution]

[Text] The draft revised constitution is the draft of a socialist constitution suited to China's national conditions. It reflects the developments and reforms in all fields in our country, sets the basic tasks for the people throughout the country in the new historical period and further perfects our socialist system. The publication of the draft revised constitution for discussion by all the people indicates that socialist democracy and the legal system of our country are marching forward in big strides. At the same time, it will inspire the people throughout the country to courageously advance toward the socialist goals of the four modernizations.

Today I would like to go into one question in particular--why is it necessary to revise the constitution? At the same time I would like also to briefly explain how the revisions of the constitution was carried out and why the draft revised constitution is published for discussion by all the people.

First, why is it necessary to revise the 1978 constitution?

The constitution is the country's fundamental law and set of general rules. The articles of the constitution are to be followed by every citizen. Therefore, the constitution should have a certain degree of stability. Some people inevitably will wonder: Since the constitution is the country's fundamental law, it should remain stable and unchanged. The constitutions of some countries are inflexible constitutions which have not been revised for many years. Why should we revise our constitution?

Referring to the 1918 Soviet constitution, Lenin pointed out: "The new constitution gives concentrated expression to what has already come true in life and will be revised and supplemented in the course of practical application."

This is to say that the drawing up and revision of a constitution are closely linked with social life and directly reflect developments and changes in a country's political life and economic life. When a country's economy changes

and develops, its laws as a part of the superstructure will also change and develop, and so will its constitution.

Of course, because of its own characteristics, a constitution is widely applicable. Compared with common laws, the constitution has the highest legal force and is the basis for the enactment of common laws. It indeed should remain stable and applicable for a long period, and should not be rashly revised. However, the stability of anything can only be relative, and is not absolute. Therefore, it is in keeping with the objective law governing the development of things to make necessary and appropriate revisions to the constitution at a specific time so that it will suit socialist political and economic developments.

Moreover, since constitutions came into being in various countries in the world, there has not been one constitution that lasts for ever. Judging by the constitutions of all countries, some contain provisions on the inalterability of some specific articles, but there is no constitution which dictates the inalterability of all its articles. As to inflexible constitutions, they are so called only because there are more rigid procedural restrictions in revising them.

Using the revision procedure as a standard, the constitutions of various countries in the world are generally divided into two categories--flexible constitutions and inflexible constitutions.

The revision procedure for flexible constitutions is the same as that for common laws. The revision procedure for inflexible constitutions, however, is different from that for common laws. For example, in some countries the constitution dictates that its revision requires approval by two-thirds of all the members of the legislative organ; in other countries, a three-fourths majority vote is required; and in still other countries, a referendum is required. But this does not mean that inflexible constitutions are not to be revised.

Here, we should especially point out that if certain provisions of the constitution are found to be inappropriate or wrong, it is all the more necessary to have them revised. We should not allow inappropriate provisions of the constitution to remain indefinitely unchanged just to maintain constitutional stability.

The 1954 constitution of our country reflected socialist and democratic principles by proceeding from the reality at that time. It manifested a combination of principle and flexibility. Its provisions were appropriate, and the contents were relatively flawless. It was described as the first good constitution since the founding of our country. However, with the development of the politics and economy of our country, especially with the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the means of production, some provisions of that constitution became out of date. For instance, the provision of the ownership of the means of production in article 5 and the provision on protection of capitalist ownership in article 10 should be revised promptly. However, the work in 1975 to revise the constitution was

unsuccessful. At that time, because of the interference and sabotage by the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, it was impossible to correctly sum up the practice of our country's revolution and construction; on the contrary, many wrong things were included in the constitution, while many correct provisions were deleted, for example, the provisions stating that all citizens are equal before the law and that people's courts shall exercise judicial authority independently and by following the law only. These correct provisions were not reinstated in the subsequent constitutions, including the one promulgated in 1978.

The constitution currently in effect was drawn up in 1978. There were minor revisions on two occasions, but basically no major change was made. The constitution can no longer meet the needs of developments in politics and economy in our country and has to be revised for the following reasons:

1. When the constitution was adopted in 1978 by the first session of the Fifth NPC, it was not long after the gang of four had been smashed. Because of the restriction by the historical conditions at that time, there was not enough time to sum up all experiences and lessons in our socialist revolution and construction since the founding of our country and to liquidate and eradicate thoroughly the influence caused by some "left" ideas on the provisions of the constitution during the 10 chaotic years. As a result, the constitution still contains some out-of-date and even wrong political viewpoints and some provisions which do not conform to the present objective situation. Obviously, such contents and wording should be deleted.

2. Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, political, economic and cultural life in our country has undergone a tremendous change and development. The focus of our party and state work has shifted to socialist modernization. The CCP Central Committee has put forward a series of correct policies, such as that economic construction must suit the conditions of our country and follow economic and natural law, that in economic construction we must try to accomplish what is possible, pay attention to real economic results and link the development of production closely with the improvement of the people's living standards, and that while our basic principle is to work independently and self-reliantly, it is necessary to actively develop economic cooperation and technological exchange with foreign countries. Guided by these policies, the work of restructuring the economic management system, including expanding the enterprises' self-management powers and strengthening their democratic managements, is being carried out step by step in conjunction with economic readjustment. Moreover, the CCP Central Committee has made a new scientific analysis of the class situation in our country, pointing out the basic fact that, despite the elimination of the exploiting classes, there still exists class struggle in certain areas. The work of strengthening socialist democracy and the socialist legal system has made considerable progress. The restructuring of the state system and state organs is being carried out smoothly. Major accomplishments have been made in education, science and cultural work. All these facts were not and could not be manifested and reflected in the 1978 constitution. Now it is urgently required and necessary to have them reflected in the constitution.



3. Many provisions in the 1978 constitution are not perfect, rigorous and clear-cut. Take the term of the NPC as an example, the constitution only states very generally that its term may be extended or shortened under special circumstances, but fails to clearly specify the circumstances. This means that it is far from being rigorous. We should now develop socialist democracy, improve the socialist legal system, consolidate and perfect the basic state system, really protect the people's rights and the rights of all nationalities in our country, consolidate and develop a political situation characterized by stability, unity, liveliness and vigor, mobilize all positive factors to the fullest extent, give full play to the superiority of socialism and speed up the work of the four modernizations. To do so, we must revise the constitution in a rather specific manner.

For these reasons, in August 1980 the CCP Central Committee made a suggestion to the Presidium of the third session of the Fifth NPC that the constitution be revised and that a committee for the revision of the constitution be established. The third session of the Fifth NPC agreed to this suggestion and to the namelist of members of the committee for the revision of the constitution proposed by the CCP Central Committee. It decided that the committee be in charge of the work of revising the 1978 constitution.

The following shows how the work of revising the constitution was carried out.

The work of revising the constitution began after the third session of the Fifth NPC adopted the resolution on revising the constitution and forming the committee for the revision of the constitution. From beginning to end, the work was characterized by two things: first, the principles of seeking truth from facts was upheld. That is, the work proceeded from the current situation in our country and combined Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the present practice in China. Second, the mass line was upheld. Extensive efforts were made to solicit opinions from all departments concerned and from the broad masses of people. After the opinions from the masses had been obtained, work was carried out to make a rather drastic revision of the 1978 constitution on the basis of the historical experience summed up in the resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC and by upholding the four basic principles.

In view of the vital importance of the work of revising the constitution and the complicated questions involved in various areas, it was necessary to do a great deal of investigation and study and to extensively solicit opinions from the masses. In particular, further practice and study were necessary in dealing with the major questions on the restructuring of the state system. To do the work carefully and to make the constitution as good as possible, a rather long time was spent in revising the constitution. After repeated discussions and revisions by the committee for the revision of the constitution, the present draft revised constitution was finally drawn up.

Now the Standing Committee of the Fifth NPC has decided to make public the draft revised constitution for discussion by the people throughout the country. After it has been discussed by all people, the committee for the revision of the constitution will further revise it according to the opinions of the masses and then submit the further revised draft of the fifth session

of the Fifth NPC for examination and discussion. After official adoption by the fifth session of the Fifth NPC, a fundamental law of our country for the new historical period will come into being.

Finally, I will explain why the draft revised constitution should be discussed by the people throughout the country.

First, discussion of the draft revised constitution by the people throughout the country is a way and an example of management of state affairs by the people. As stipulated by our constitution, all power in the PRC belongs to the people. The people have and should exercise the power to take part in the revision of the constitution. Discussion of the constitution by the people throughout the country means that the people are exercising their power as masters of the country. Second, of the three preceding constitutions that China has promulgated, the 1954 constitution was relatively flawless. One of the reasons was that it was discussed by the people throughout the country, and as a result the wisdom of the masses was pooled and all useful ideas were absorbed. Discussion of the draft revised constitution can ensure the perfection of the constitution. Third, discussion of the draft revised constitution by the people throughout the country is a popular education in the socialist legal system. As a result of the discussion, the people will be made aware of the contents of our country's fundamental law, the nature of our state, the work targets for the future, the fundamental rights and duties of citizens, and so forth. This will lay a foundation for the promulgation and implementation of the constitution in the future and will enable the people to uphold, on their own initiative, the idea of abiding by the constitution. Because of this, all people should pay full attention to the discussion and make joint efforts to formulate a perfect socialist constitution.

CSO: 4005/911

## PARTY AND STATE

### SECOND TALK ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW291201 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 28 May 82

[Radio talk by Wang Shuwen of the Institute of Law of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: "The Guiding Ideology and Basic Principle of the Draft of the Revised Constitution"--second of series on the draft revised constitution]

[Excerpts] The guiding ideology in revising the constitution is adherence to the four basic principles, that is, adherence to the socialist course, to people's democratic dictatorship, to CCP leadership and to Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. These four basic principles are also the four basic principles upheld in the draft of the revised constitution. Let me elaborate further on this issue.

First, why is it necessary for the draft of the revised constitution to stipulate that the four basic principles must be adhered to? The need to adhere to the four basic principles stems from the experience of the Chinese people over a long period of revolution and construction. The four basic principles are the truth that has been tested through prolonged practice. These principles reflect the objective law and necessity in China's historical development.

Second, adherence to the four basic principles is the guiding ideology and basic principle in revising the constitution. This has been expressed as follows:

1. The preamble of the draft of the revised constitution comprehensively and prominently expounds the four basic principles and reaffirms that it is essential to adhere to the four basic principles.
2. Article 1 of the general principles of the draft states that the People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. It also says that the socialist system is the basic system of the PRC, and that disruption of the socialist system by any individual and by any means is prohibited. The article comprehensively states that people's democratic dictatorship is our country's basic feature and that the socialist system is our country's basic system.

3. The entire draft of the revised constitution embodies the spirit of the four basic principles. The principles of people's democracy and socialism are embodied in the articles in the draft concerning the socialist economic and political systems, the fundamental rights and duties of citizens and the structure of the state. Thus, as a fundamental cardinal law, the draft of the revised constitution defines that the four basic principles are the fundamental code of the whole nation.

Adhering to the four basic principles is the basic feature of our country's constitution. This is the basic difference between our constitution and those of capitalist and other socialist countries. To cheat the working people, the capitalist countries in their constitutions describe themselves as countries governed by the people with the people holding the power in their countries. But the fact is that the constitutions of capitalist countries consolidate the social order that serves the interest of the bourgeoisie so that they can maintain their dictatorship over the proletariat and over the broad masses of working people.

Third, the significance of adhering to the four basic principles lies in the fact that these four basic principles--the socialist course, the people's democratic dictatorship, CCP leadership and Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought--serve as a common political base for uniting the whole party and the people of all nationalities in the country. Adhering to these four basic principles also basically guarantees the realization of the four socialist modernizations. We must, therefore, adhere to the four basic principles in all work and wage a resolute struggle against all words and actions that oppose and undermine the four basic principles.

The most important requirements in adhering to the four basic principles is to uphold the CCP leadership and the socialist course. Only socialism can save China. This is the historical conclusion drawn from the Chinese people's protracted struggle over the last century and more. It is also the most basic historical experience gained in the last 32 years since the founding of our country. Under the socialist system we have accomplished what old China could not accomplish. This effectively proves the superiority of the socialist system.

Adhering to the CCP leadership is the core of adhering to the four basic principles. It is the key of whether or not the four modernizations can be realized. Without the CCP there would be no new China. Likewise, without the CCP there can be no modern socialist China.

The articles concerning adherence to the four basic principles in the draft of the revised constitution will have tremendous immediate and far-reaching historical significance in ensuring the Chinese people's vigorous advance along the road of building a modern, highly democratic and highly civilized socialist China under the CCP's leadership and under the banner of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

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PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI RADIO' COMMENTS ON DENG-INITIATED PURGE

OW300444 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 28 May 82

[Text] The communique adopted by the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee pointed out: This session will go down in history for fulfilling the historic mission of righting things which have been thrown into disorder in the guiding ideology of the party. That means that the historic mission of righting things has been completed and that the whole party, the whole army and the people throughout the country must concentrate their energy on carrying out the modernization program in line with the resolution adopted by the sixth plenary session.

Regrettably, after the convocation of the sixth plenary session, Comrade Deng Xiaoping handed over the daily routine work to comrades Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang and Deng Biao, Kiang Qing and their cohorts; those who possess serious factional thinking; and those who resist the party's line and policies--must be expelled from the leading bodies at all levels. It is said that the party and army organizations are impure because of the existence of remnants of Lin Biao and the gang of four. Recently, the lackeys of Lin Biao and the gang of four have truculently alleged that their remnants remain among the ranks of cadres, particularly in the army. They have also pointed out that there are also people who are deeply influenced by the reactionary thinking of the two counterrevolutionary cliques and undesirable people who have found their way into the ranks of cadres during the 10 chaotic years.

It is self-evident that those who have been cadres during the cultural revolution, particularly during the period when Lin Biao was defense minister, are likely to be labeled at will. We can definitely say that if cadres are not labeled at will, it will be difficult to expel over 10 million cadres in the next 3 years as was instructed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. Recently, the party, the government and the army leading cadres have shown strong resistance to the massive purge. The leading comrades of the party Central Committee and the Central Military Council, in particular, have set an example by refusing to leave their posts for recuperation or to retire.

In a recent letter to the NPC Standing Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping wrote that the current administrative restructuring is a revolution, and if we

are not determined to carry through the revolution, modernization will not materialize, and even the existence of the party and the nation will be endangered. Thus, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has enlarged the scope for purging cadres. In the final analysis, the purpose of the massive purge is to squeeze out and expel those who are not trusted. Consequently, the purge unavoidably runs counter to the resolution of the sixth plenary session, which calls for concentrating energy on socialist construction.

CSO: 4005/911

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ARTICLE EULOGIZES ZHANG GUOHUA

HK290935 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 May 82 p 5

[Article by Fan Jinzhen [2868 6602 4176]: "The Moral Character of a Real Communist"]

[Text] The date 20 February 1972 was a Sunday. That afternoon, Comrade Zhang Guohua was at a meeting, listening attentively to a report. The meeting was a continuation of a meeting held that morning. The discussion was quite heated. When Comrade Guohua was giving a speech, he suddenly felt ill. He took some medicine and, ignoring the advice of others, insisted on continuing. Afterward, he collapsed on the floor. Much to my surprise, he started to vomit after a few injections and, that night, Comrade Guohua left us forever. As he himself had often said, "I don't want to lie in bed groaning. The battlefield is where I belong."

In view of his abrupt departure, he did not have time to summon to his bedside his children, who were working in other localities. However, he did manage to leave his most precious asset--the moral character of a true Communist Party member--in our hearts forever.

I

A few days before the death of Comrade Guohua, I had heard him singing the "Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention" in the secretary's office. The song was at times loud and at times soft. When he reached the phrase "All actions must correspond to directions," the song was especially loud and to this day still reverberates in my ears.

Comrade Guohua was a native of Yongxin County, Jiangxi Province. In March 1929, barely 15, and spurred on by the agrarian reform at the time, he took part in the guerrilla activities led by the special committee of the north-eastern part of Yongxin County. In May 1931, he officially became a CCP member of the Fourth Red Army. From that time on, he gave his all for the party. This revolutionary career spanned more than 40 years. He took part in the long march of 25,000 li. During the war of resistance against Japan, he penetrated enemy lines from northern Shaanxi to set up anti-Japanese bases. During the war of liberation, he went from northern China to fight in central China and, from eastern China, fought all the way to the great southwest.

After liberation, he went from Sichuan to the plains of Xizang. No matter how harsh the environment proved to be and no matter how difficult the work was, he never once stipulated any conditions and obeyed the directions of the party in all matters up to the moment of his death.

In April 1940, Comrade Guohua was ordered to lead troops to take over the defense of the Jiangsu-Shandong-Henan-Anhui region (later renamed the Huxi region). He was appointed political commissar of the 4th trainee brigade of the 115th Division and political commissar for the Huxi area. Under the highly complicated circumstances brought about by the "purge Trotskyists" incident, Comrade Guohua soon began a new phase by consolidating and expanding the anti-Japanese bases. In August 1942, the organization approved Comrade Guohua's request to study in Yana. This was indeed a rare opportunity for someone like Comrade Guohua who had been separated from the high-level leadership for such a long time and who had been a lone warrior in an armed struggle in a single place behind enemy lines. He enthusiastically handed over his work and hastened to Yanan. His journey took him past the base in Taihangshan Mountain. There he reported on his work to the frontline headquarters of the Eighth Route Army. After he reached the No 2 Taihang sub-district and was preparing to pass through the Datong-Puzhou railway blockade line, he suddenly received a telegram from headquarters asking him to return immediately to the Shanxi-Shandong-Henan No 4 subdistrict (now the area comprising Anyang, Huaxian County, Puyang, Neihuang and Tangyin in Henan Province) to work. At that time, due to the cruel mopping-up campaigns carried out by the enemy in the area and the unusual severity of natural disasters there, the life of the masses was extremely tough and the struggle was acute and complicated. Comrade Guohua resolutely obeyed the decision of the organization, firmly put aside the study opportunities he had looked forward to for so long and immediately returned to the Shanxi-Shandong-Henan area to carry on the arduous frontline struggle for our victory in the anti-Japanese war.

By early 1950, we had already achieved overall victory in our nationwide war of liberation. Comrade Guohua was ordered to lead the 18th army into Chuan-nan. A large batch of cadres in the army were to be transferred to local work. Comrade Guohua was appointed head of the administrative office in Chuannan. Shortly afterward, the 18th Army was assigned the task of marching into Xizang. The comrades, having lived through heavy fire and life-or-death situations, were only just beginning to settle down. When they heard that they were to advance into Xizang, they had difficulty accepting this, especially certain comrades who had adopted themselves to the local work, including a small number of responsible cadres. They were not mentally receptive to the idea. Other deterrents were that Xizang was a minority nationality region, not much was known about it, it was so far away, transportation was a problem and it was difficult to get supplies through. Under these circumstances, they could envision the difficulties involved in speedily carrying out the task of liberating Xizang and protecting the border area. As the commander of the 18th Army and secretary of the army party committee, Comrade Guohua felt that the task he shouldered was heavier than ever before. In order to eliminate the eroding force and effects of imperialism, uphold the integrity and unity of the motherland, strengthen the unity between people of the Xizang



and Han nationalities, build up and consolidate national defense, and sweep away obstacles to the political, economic and cultural development of the Xizang people, the party committee of the 18th Army resolutely implemented the directive issued by the CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao that "the advance into Xizang should be made early rather than late." They did not hesitate in assuming this enormous and honorable task. Under the direct leadership of the CCP Southwest Bureau and Southwest Military Region, they began to study methods for implementing the plan and carried out a series of heavy and complicated preparatory work. Comrade Guohua suffered from frequent attacks of tonsillitis. In order to adapt himself to the climate of the Xizang plains, he resolutely had his tonsils removed. For 6 days and 6 nights, he could neither eat nor speak and was in constant pain.

At that time, I had just arrived in Sichuan from Henan to work. I had been separated from him for a long time and, what was more, I was just about to give birth. How much I had hoped that our lives could be more peaceful and that I would have the chance to study specialized banking, which I liked so much. It was at this time that our eldest daughter became ill and died. Comrade Guohua was still busy making preparations for the advance into Xizang. He said that Communist Party members must disregard personal interests, that when we reached as tough a place as Xizang, difficulties would definitely increase, that the party's cause needed me and, as a Communist Party member, I should go. I was convinced and, dragging along my frail body that had given birth just 20-odd days before, marched with him shoulder to shoulder on the long road to Xizang. Together with our comrades-in-arms, we crossed 19 permanently snowcapped mountains, waded through dozens of ice-cold streams and rapids that chilled us to our bones, traversed numerous primeval forests and muddy marshes, endured untold hardships, overcame such serious problems as the shortage of oxygen at high altitudes and supply deficiencies, and, after an arduous trek of more than 3 months, finally reached Lhasa on 26 October 1951.

## II

Comrade Guohua's revolutionary zeal was really something. In his revolutionary work, he was stern and serious, a consistently hard worker who simply got on with the job. His fiery enthusiasm and arduous work style profoundly moved and encouraged comrades all around him.

In November 1946, Comrade Guohua was transferred to the Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu region to get work started up there. He was appointed commander of the Henan-Anhui-Jiangsumilitary region. In a complicated and dangerous environment, he commanded his troops during continuous fighting. The Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu region was an isolated and remote guerrilla area. The enemy, who outnumbered us 10 to 1, was carrying out an "extermination campaign" against us. They tried in vain to wrench the "dagger" from their hearts. Comrade Guohua had only just been transferred from political work to military work and his burden was heavy. Often, when I went to see him, he was engrossed in a telegram directive from the CCP Central Committee, and was pondering over and deciding how he was to effectively carry out the instructions of the CCP Central Committee. I watched him endure many sleepless nights, lose his appetite, develop bags under his eyes and a swollen face. I was sad and worried. I told

him to look after himself. At first, he ignored me. After I said this a few times, he said repeatedly: "I'm a communist. I am responsible to the party [words illegible] Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu military region CCP committee of the strategies and tactics of the CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao, the war situation soon changed in their favor and they forcefully coordinated with the strategic advance of the great army led by Liu and Deng into Dabieshan Mountain. [As published]

Seventeen years of Comrade Guohua's life were spent on the plains of Xizang. Chairman Mao said: "Whenever pondering over a problem in Xizang, we must first take the people and their religion into consideration. We must proceed cautiously in all our work." Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "In Xizang, we must walk according to our policies, eat according to our policies, and use correct policies in order to rid ourselves of the spell and miasma cast by Chinese and foreign reactionaries, eliminate the national barriers and preconceptions created by history, and unite the vast numbers of monks and layment, as well as patriots, under the great banner of anti-imperialism." Comrade Guohua fully appreciated the importance of his responsibilities and dared not slacken for one moment. He resolutely implemented the directives of the CCP Central Committee and devoted his utmost to this end. After accepting the task to advance into Xizang, he immediately sent an advance party, entered deep into the Xizang region to ascertain the political and military situation there, carried out a survey on the customs and religions of the Xizang people and also personally went to Changdu to invite specialists and scholars learned in Xizang affairs to hold discussions. On the basis of this, the army party committee formulated the "Rules for the Military Advance Into Xizang." This was issued to the troops and they were briefed on the policy regarding nationality and religion. In order to respect the customs of the Xizang people, on his march, he and the others refrained from entering temples and living in people's houses, preferring to sleep on the icy ground. After the troops had entered Lhasa, a handful of proimperialist splittists tried in vain to tread the "Russian path." Comrade Guohua and Tan Guansan, the political commissar, personally led troops in to get up production started, and soon the grain, vegetable, and supply situation improved. In order to improve and strengthen the anti-imperialist, patriotic united front, Comrade Guohua took every opportunity to make broad contacts with people of all classes in Xizang. Dozens and dozens of times, he would call on people personally to convey the concern and expectations that the CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao have for the Xizang people and to propagate the national and religious policies of the party. During his time in Xizang, he frequently worked nonstop from morning to night. He often said that the task had been given to him by the party and the work had been given to him by the people and that if he could not perform it, he could not face the party and the people.

One night in June 1952, I was at a meeting in the Xizang people's bank. Comrade Guohua's bodyguard suddenly came to call me, saying: "Political Commissar Tan would like you to come immediately. The commander is seriously ill." I hurried along and found out that Comrade Guohua had fainted from exhaustion. He was treated for a few hours and left to rest. I was not until dawn that he regained consciousness. For the sake of the happiness of the Xizang people, Comrade Guohua worked for a long time on the plains of Xizang

in a selfless, indefatigable and self-exhausting manner. By 1967, when he left Xizang, his body had already suffered much damage.

Comrade Guohua was hardworking and studious. In the war years, he always carried a small dictionary in the pocket of his jacket. He kept important documents and books in a small saddlebag and took them with him wherever he fought. Every time the CCP Central Committee issued documents or directives, he would always study them conscientiously and ponder over them and, when it was time to implement them, would integrate them with the actual conditions. In order to facilitate the starting up of work after the advance into Xizang, he led the way in the learning of Tibetan on the journey and continued his lessons regardless of the burden of work. He made neat jottings inside various notebooks of Tibetan words and read them whenever he had the time. Shortly after his arrival in Xizang, he was able to hold simple conversations in Tibetan. He was hardworking and studious. He displayed a wide knowledge. In his conversations, he was able to use simple words to express profound thoughts. He quoted copiously from many sources and was a highly convincing speaker. It was hard to believe that he was a leading cadre who had been born into a peasant family and had only studied for 4 and 1/2 years in an old-style private school.

After the testing and training of a protracted revolutionary struggle, Comrade Guohua had experience in both military and local work. He was both an outstanding cadre for political work and an outstanding military director. He had experienced numerous battles, was resourceful and decisive and had directed some glorious campaigns and struggles. He showed great vigor and enthusiasm in his work. He was clear-headed, steady and sedate. He was held in high regard and was trained by the revolutionaries of the old generation. He was also deeply loved by his fellow comrades.

### III

Comrade Guohua was unselfish and magnanimous. He was honest and upright. He took the overall situation into account. He was open in everything he did. He was a fair-minded and sincere communist.

Comrade Guohua was always severe in disciplining himself. He was modest and cautious. He was not pretentious or arrogant. Once when he was in the Shanxi-Shandong-Henan No 4 subdistrict, Comrade Guohua, after a victorious battle, was sitting with the soldiers and celebrating their victory. A soldier recited a story to the rhythm of bamboo clappers praising Comrade Guohua for his decisiveness in directing the fighting. After hearing just a few lines, he left. In 1962, after victory in the war to protect the motherland's border area, the CCP Central Committee wanted Comrade Guohua to go to Beijing and report on the situation. A member of the work staff who was by his side said that their leading cadre now had to pass through the Desheng gate. Comrade Guohua immediately corrected him by saying that although this person was thinking of passing through Desheng gate, he himself was thinking of going out of the Xuanwu gate.

Comrade Guohua had the courage to carry out a self-criticism of his own mistakes and shortcomings, and sometimes even gave people the impression of being

overdemanding. In his younger days, he was slightly more conceited and his style was at times not democratic enough. With his gradual development to full political maturity, he managed to overcome these shortcomings. Nevertheless, he remained continually self-critical and asked comrades by his side to remind him to pay attention to his shortcomings so that they would not affect the party's work. In his work summations and autobiography, he never once mentioned his own role and achievements, but always conscientiously summed up lessons and criticized himself.

On the cadre question, Comrade Guohua welcomed cadres from all over the country. He never practiced favoritism, formed a group for his own private ends or took part in factionalism. He laid great importance on the unity between his own troops and other friendly armies in the same region and the unity between local cadres and cadres from other localities. He was always harsh on those closest to him and lenient toward those furthest from him. He was originally a cadre of the first regional army of the Red Army. During the time that he spent teaching the 4th brigade, he paid special attention to the care and unity of the comrades in the Fourth Regional Army. When they marched into Xizang, the forces were from the southwest and the northwest. He taught the cadres in the 18th Army to respect cadres from the northwest and mobilized them to prepare themselves for posts as deputies after they joined forces. He always attached importance to the unity between intellectual cadres and worker and peasant cadres, boldly selected and used intellectual cadres, and paid attention to raising the cultural and theoretical level of worker and peasant cadres. He attached great importance to the unity between cadres of the Han and Xizang nationalities and the unity between "old Xizang" and "new Xizang," and especially to the training and use of cadres of Xizang nationality, giving them duties and powers and enabling them to play their unique role in the building of Xizang.

As for cadres who had made mistakes, Comrade Guohua would sternly criticize and educate them. He did not ignore them; thus they sensed his comrade-like concern and help. In the Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu military region, there was a cadre responsible for propaganda work who, because of a transfer problem, was engaged in an argument with a leading comrade in the political department of the political region and adopted an erroneous attitude toward the organization. Afterward, Comrade Guohua went to have a chat with him, sternly criticizing him on the one hand, and on the other, patiently helping him thoroughly analyze the reason for his mistake, telling him what to do and genuinely winning him over. In 1949, when this comrade came to the south, he had to stay in Nanjing because of bad health and did leadership work in a certain department. Upon hearing the news of the 18th Army's advance into Xizang, he resolutely asked the organization to let him follow Comrade Guohua to the plains of Xizang despite his illness. Many comrades who worked under the leadership of Comrade Guohua felt that Comrade Guohua was not only a leader who was "strict without being fearsome" and "intimate without being vulgar," but also a bosom friend who was happy to share other people's problems.

Toward others, Comrade Guohua was modest, amiable and generous. However, when it came to party matters, he always adhered closely to party principles. He never yielded and never tried to appease others. After the Huaihai campaign, the troops had grown arrogant and violations of policies and discipline

frequently occurred. A certain regimental deputy chief of staff had beaten and scolded some people at Kaifeng station in Henan. By the time this incident was discovered, the soldiers had already reached Jiangnan. Comrade Guohua nevertheless ordered the comrades in the army political department to escort that person back to Kaifeng to apologize to the masses and to make some effort in undoing the damage. He also distributed a circular to all his troops warning them about such behavior. After the Chengdu campaign, individual cadres committed errors on questions of marriage. Comrade Guohua and the army party committee dealt with this sternly and resolutely resisted the hedonistic mentality that had developed in the wake of their victory.

One day in May 1967, Premier Zhou went to have a chat with Comrade Guohua. He said to him that, with Chairman Mao's permission, they had decided to transfer him to Sichuan to work. During his time in Sichuan, Comrade Guohua worked under extremely harsh conditions. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" attacked and framed him, and even managed to destroy him physically. However, Comrade Guohua did not yield in the face of pressure. He was frank, open, endured humiliation, took the overall situation into account and never once moaned in front of us, persevering in the party's work to the best of his ability. He was extremely tense about his work. Sometimes he refused to stop work even with a high temperature. I once reminded him: Lin Biao and his associates want you dead. He said: "I do not count for much, as long as the party's cause lives on." I was hoping that he would report to Premier Zhou about his predicament. After a long silence he slowly replied: "The premier knows. He's busy enough himself. Do you know the difficulties the premier faces? I must on no account add to his problems." When I saw his stern expression, I realized that the problem was nowhere near as simple as I had thought.

After the death of Comrade Guohua, Premier Zhou personally telephoned Chengdu directing the ashes of Comrade Guohua to be sent to Beijing. Premier Zhou, Ye Jianying, Li Xiannian, Nie Rongzhen, Xu Xiangqian and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation went personally to the airport to collect Comrade Guohua's ashes. When I saw tears flowing down the gaunt cheeks of Premier Zhou, I could no longer control my own feelings. I tightly shook both hands of Premier Zhou and tears poured from my eyes.

One of Comrade Guohua's comrade-in-arms wrote the following few lines in his memory: "He stands like a hero in a forest of rifles and under a shower of bullets. He serves as a model of openheartedness. He gives his all to the revolution despite his illness. He works indefatigably while lying in his bed." Naturally, the life of Comrade Guohua is open to appraisal by the party and the people. As a revolutionary companion who has lived with him and fought alongside him for over 10 years, I have merely noted a few fragments of his revolutionary career, so as to encourage the children and myself to continue struggling for the party's cause and to give myself the chance to put my thoughts down on paper.

CSO: 4005/911

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BEIJING WANBAO' DISCUSSES MAKINGS OF STATESMEN

HK270937 Beijing WANBAO in Chinese 13 May 82 p 3

["Words of a Hundred Schools" column by Bei Chen [0554 6591]: "Speaking in Defense of Li Bai"]

[Text] The article "On the Strong and Weak Points of Li Bai and Liu Yong" said: Judging from Li Bai's "temperament, behavior and character", we can see that he did not have the makings of a statesman. This argument cannot stand close scrutiny.

He-er-cen [6378 1422 1478] said: "All characters are the product of the times." In appraising an historical figure, we must not just fix our attention on his "temperament, behavior and character" but must also analyze the times he was in and his social environment. During the long years of the Chinese feudal society, there were very few professional writers and poets among China's intellectuals. In those days, Chinese intellectuals always cherished their major ambition of "dedicating themselves to the service of their country." In other words, they worked hard to obtain fairly high position within the ruling class so as to carry out their political proposals. Literary talent had always been an important asset in obtaining a fairly high position. Many intellectuals at that time, such as Han Yu, Liu Zongyuan, Bai Juyi, Wang Anshi and Su Shi, were both statesmen and writers. It is very difficult to make an absolute distinction between their "makings as statesmen" and their "makings as writers." Although Li Bai did not attend any imperial examinations, he cherished his political ambitions: "I want to model myself on Guan Zhong and Yan Ying and seek the skill of serving emperors. I want to make the best use of my wisdom and ability to assist the ruler in governing the country and in bringing about great order throughout the country." What a pity Li Bai did not have an opportunity to realize his ambition.

After discussing the point that Pei Du's contributions made during the first half of his lifetime are greater than those made during the second half of his lifetime, the "Xin Tang Shu" [2450 0781 2579] said: "This was not because he was wise during the first half of his lifetime and stupid during the second half of his lifetime. It all depended on whether he was given the opportunity to make the best use of his wisdom and ability. The situation determined the outcome." These words contained profound truth. With regard to those historical figures with lofty ideals who did not have the opportunity

to dedicate themselves to the service of their country and who had no opportunity to use their talent, if we denounce all of them as people who did "not have the makings of statesmen" and who did "not necessarily have talent in this aspect," are we not reproducing the outworn viewpoint that "he who conquers is crowned king; the vanquished become bandits?"

Let us take a look at the times Li Bai lived in. At that time the Tang Dynasty had begun to go downhill from a period of great prosperity. Li Longji, Emperor Xuanzong abandoned his earlier national policy on making vigorous efforts to make the country prosperous, wallowed in luxury and pleasure, put powerful treacherous court officials in important positions and cut off all channels for remonstrance and forthright admonition. The Kaiyuan era of great order was turned into the Tianbao era of upheaval. At this time, Emperor Xuanzong put Li Linfu, Gao Lishi, Yang Guozhong and an Lushan in important positions. A large number of historical facts have proved that these people were a group of careerists and conspirators. Is it conceivable that their appointments meant "appointing people on their merits?" Is it conceivable that these people had "the makings of statesmen?" The viewpoint that Li Bai should just mind his own business of writing poems and should not interfere with politics is not only now, but was then, a middle viewpoint confusing right and wrong.

The contradictions and clashes between Li Bai and those powerful treacherous court officials were clearly recorded by history. Li Bai was not willing to "servilely and obsequiously wait on ranking officials," thus offending them. But Li Bai was Li Bai after all. He dared to ask Gao Lishi to "take off his boots" for him on a public occasion. He also dared to liken Emperor Xuanzong's favorite imperial concubine Yang Yuhuan to Zao Feiyan in his poem entitled "A Song of Pure Happiness." As a result, Gao Lishi incited Yang Yuhuan to urge Emperor Xuanzong to "bestow gold" on Li Bai to "transfer him to other localities." This virtually meant expelling him from the capital. Li Bai ended in failure. This was apparently a sharp political struggle. We definitely should not censure Li Bai's "temperament, behavior and character" and let off those people condemned by the whole nation. Li Bai's bold and uninhibited character and his form of struggle which was characterized by derision, taunts and furious curses were really rare and commendable at that time. Up to now, his character and his form of struggle still afford general satisfaction. In writing teaching material, it is quite natural for historians to "speak in defense" of Li Bai and to "favor one and be prejudiced against the other." Is it conceivable that we should speak in defense of Gao Lishi and his like?

CSO: 4005/911

## PARTY AND STATE

### LIAO CHENGZHI ADDRESSES SOONG MEMORIAL CEREMONY

OW300158 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1430 GMT 29 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 29 May (XINHUA)--Vice Chairman Liao Chengzhi of the NPC Standing Committee gave a speech at a ceremony in commemoration of the first anniversary of the death of Comrade Soong Ching Ling, honorary chairman of the PRC. The speech reads in full as follows:

PRC Honorary Chairman Comrade Soong Ching Ling, known throughout the world as a great patriotic, democratic, internationalist and communist fighter, has been gone for a year now. However, her great revolutionary spirit and lofty integrity as well as her outstanding contribution to the country and the people will live forever in our hearts. Cherishing a feeling of great reverence for her and her memory, we have now gathered here at this grand ceremony to unveil Comrade Soong Ching Ling's former residence.

Since she came to Beijing from Shanghai in September 1949 at the invitation of the CCP Central Committee to join in planning the establishment of the PRC, Comrade Soong Ching Ling lived, worked and studied hard here and brought forth fruitful results in promoting our country's socialist construction and world peace. This small residence linked Comrade Soong Ching Ling closely with the Chinese people of all nationalities and the people of various countries throughout the world. Here she worked diligently for more than 20 years until her last breath. It is here that her heart stopped beating. Many relics, documents and artifacts here are a real record of Comrade Soong Ching Ling's devotion to the great revolutionary cause and powerful testimony of the modern history of Chinese revolution. In order to carry on Comrade Soong Ching Ling's great revolutionary spirit and let the people cherish her memory and learn from her from generation to generation, the place has been officially designated "former residence of Comrade Soong Ching Ling, honorary chairman of the People's Republic of China."

At this solemn moment as Comrade Soong Ching Ling's former residence is unveiled, we miss all the more our Taiwan compatriots on the other side of the Taiwan Strait. Before her death, Comrade Soong Ching Ling always keenly looked forward to accomplishing the great cause of reunifying the motherland, a goal toward which she did a great deal of useful work. We are glad to note that the nine-point policy put forward by chairman Ye Jianying of the NPC



Standing Committee has produced an increasingly far-reaching influence among the 18 million compatriots in Taiwan. Accomplishing the great cause of reunifying the motherland is a common desire and the sacred duty of the people of all nationalities throughout China, including the Taiwan compatriots. We are convinced we will certainly be able to reach this goal. We warmly welcome Dr Sun Yat-sen's relatives and old friends now residing in Xianggang [Hong Kong], Aomen [Macao], Taiwan and foreign countries; Comrade Soong Ching Ling's old friends; all personages with breadth of vision who wish to see a reunified and powerful motherland; and friends from various countries to come here to pay respect to Comrade Soong Ching Ling and to commemorate her together with us.

Before her death, Comrade Soong Ching Ling earnestly hoped that our socialist motherland would become more prosperous. Our beloved and esteemed Comrade Soong Ching Ling would be relieved by the fact that the lines, principles and policies laid down since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and the resolution adopted by the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee are being further implemented and that one new victory after another has been won in the socialist modernization drive of our country.

Let us rally closely around the party Central Committee and advance courageously toward accomplishing the great, sacred cause of reunifying the motherland and building China into a powerful, modern socialist country which is highly democratic and cultured.

CSO: 4004/121

## PARTY AND STATE

### BRIEFS

HEBEI PEOPLE'S CONGRESS MEETING--The 15th meeting of the 5th Hebei provincial People's Congress Standing Committee opened on 12 May. Committee chairman Jiang Yizhen presided and spoke. The main agenda of the meeting consists of studying the draft of the revised constitution and adopting a resolution on organizing the people of the whole province to discuss it. The meeting will also hear and examine a provincial government report on the 1982 draft budget and a report on controls of urban and rural trade fairs. Also present at the meeting were committee vice chairmen Niu Shucui, Wu Qingchang, Cao Youmin, Ding Tingxin, Quan Zemin, Zhao Zhenzhong, Zhang Da, Geng Changsuo, Pan Chengxiao, Zhou Xueao, Huang Hua and Yang Dingan. Present as observers were provincial higher people's court President Lu Zhiguo and provincial Chief procurator Sun Guangrui. [Summary] [HK200425 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 13 May 82]

KUOMINTANG COMMITTEE MOURNS MARTYR--Beijing, 26 May--The Central Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee held a forum this afternoon at the Taiwan Hall of the Great Hall of the People in commemoration of the death of patriotic General Dai Anlan, who died a martyr for the country. Xiao Ke, vice chairman of the CPPCC national committee praised Dai Anlan as a national hero. He said: "The best way for us to commemorate him is to realize the four modernizations of the motherland and to build China into a powerful socialist modernized country." The forum was presided over by Qu Wu, vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee. Zheng Dongguo, vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, described General Dai Anlan's heroic deeds. Dai Anlan sacrificed his life on the battlefield on 26 May, while fighting the Japanese Army in Burma. After Dai's death, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote a poem in mourning. Comrade Zhou Enlai called him "a hero of Whampoa and the nation." Zhu De, Peng Dehuai and Deng Yingchao also presented mourning scrolls. [Excerpts] [OW270319 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1503 GMT 26 May 82]

CSO: 4005/911

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GUIDED MISSILE UNIT CONDUCTS COUNTERATTACK EXERCISE

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 5, 1982  
pp 18-19

[Article by Zhao Ruishan [6392 3843 1472], Zhang Jucheng [1728 1565 2052], Li Shuliang [2621 2579 5328] and Hu Baoyu [5170 1405 3768]: "Counterattack Exercise"]

[Text] Guided missile units would be an important fighting force in a future war against aggression. Here we introduce to everyone a counterattack exercise in the wake of an enemy attack organized by an unidentified guided missile unit.

In accordance with the party committee's demand, the unit participating in the exercise placed every technician [haoshou [5714 2087]] under strict technical and coordinated training and laid emphasis on cultivating a sure, accurate, meticulous and careful operation workstyle. The leaders of the unit went into the company to go through study, inspection and safeguard procedures with the technicians. Since grounds at the site were muddy, the cadres and fighters pooled their wisdom and conducted survey and tests inside a simple and crude field workshed. The technicians thoroughly and carefully checked over the numerous closely packed circuits. The launch technicians' work is very important, and under the commander's order, they must not only work uniformly but must also ensure accuracy without any mistakes.

In this simulated actual combat exercise the unit improved its level of technical and tactical skills and also cultivated a fine combat workstyle. The commanders praised that it is through this type of troop training that true skills can be learned.



Studying counterattack deployment.



Making survey preparations.



Swiftly setting up the equipment.

Ensuring unimpeded signal communication. →



Advancing toward the launch site.



Swiftly erecting the missile and awaiting orders to counterattack.

CSO: 4005/882

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WRITING OF LIU BINYAN CRITICIZED FOR FACTUAL ERRORS

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [CURRENT REPORTS] in Chinese No 4, 1981,  
25 Dec 81 pp 46-51

[Article by Sun Lijun [1327 0448 6511] and Tan Fangzhi [6223 2455 0037]:  
"Reportage Must be Truthful and Accurate--Starting With Comrade Liu Binyan's  
'Between Men and Demons'"]

[Text] Recently we read an article by Comrade Liu Binyan entitled,  
"Who Sits in Judgment--My Fact-Finding Tour Through Three Provinces," pub-  
lished in the No 5 issue of NEW EPOCH, and we spotted a number of factual  
errors. They are reminiscent of the factual errors in the same author's  
feature story, "Between Men and Demons," published in 1979 in the No 9 issue  
of PEOPLE'S LITERATURE as well as his article, "Man Is the Purpose, Man Is  
the Center," published in 1979 in the No 6 issue of LITERARY COMMENTARY.  
Such errors have caused considerable talk among cadres and people who know  
the truth.

In a number of articles, Comrade Liu Binyan boldly drew attention to the prob-  
lems of our time, presented people and events in graphic detail, and said  
things that had never been said before. That is why they make such stimulating  
and provocative reading. We enjoy reading what Liu Binyan writes for the same  
reasons that the average reader does, except that, after learning the truth  
about the people and the events that graced the pages of Liu's writing, we  
cannot help being surprised at the amount of inaccuracy found in his material.  
Our devotion to truth and our commitment to responsible writing compel us here  
to bluntly and sincerely offer our own opinions and thoughts.

What are the discrepancies found in the material used in some of the writings  
of Comrade Liu Binyan? Let us compare the facts as we know them with the  
people and events described in his recent article, "Who Sits in Judgment--  
My Fact-Finding Tour Through Three Provinces," his recent feature story,  
"Between Men and Demons," and his unscheduled speech at a recent writers'  
congress, "Man Is the Purpose, Man Is the Center."



# I. Concerning "Who Sits in Judgment--My Fact-Finding Tour Through Three Provinces"

Comrade Liu Binyan declared in this article: "The masses attributed the increase in grain production in Pin County in 1977 to two reasons: 1) the help of God; 2) the absence of Mr Wang, the secretary of the prefectural CCP committee, due to his enrollment in a party school." "While this may sound disrespectful, it rings true to those who know Secretary Wang's working style. When he went off to the party school, his penchant for blind supervision and his indulgence in overstatement also went with him; hence a boom in agriculture. Does this kind of folk humor spread by word of mouth have any impact at all? After all, Secretary Wang could not stay at the party school forever. He had to do something. He had to discharge his duties both as the first secretary of the prefectural CCP committee and as a standing committee member of the provincial CCP committee. In fact, it was precisely under his leadership that the Pin County CCP Committee played a key role in uncovering the unlawful activities of Wang Shouxin [3769 1343 0207] at the Daching oil fields. For this achievement, every member of the Pin County CCP Committee received a promotion of one grade, while he, as the first among equals, received a promotion of two grades. In all, the committee as a whole boasted a 110-percent rate in receiving both salary increases and promotions."

If Secretary Wang did have a questionable working style, any criticism supported by facts would be justified. However, Comrade Liu Binyan's criticism was unsupported and irresponsible. As far as we know, we can find three factual errors in the two short paragraphs quoted above:

1. Secretary Wang went to the party school from June 1978 to January 1979. Liu's article stated that he was away at the party school during 1977 and that his absence contributed to the bumper crop in Pin County. This statement has no basis in fact. The fact is that Secretary Wang did not go to the party school in 1977 and was doing his job in his home office that year. As Comrade Liu Binyan's dating and factual errors nullified one of his two reasons for the bumper crop in Pin County, "the help of God" became the only factor for the good agricultural showing.

No doubt the "weather" played a role in the increased 1977 agricultural production, but it was not the only factor. By giving credit to "weather" alone, Comrade Liu Binyan was unfair not only to Secretary Wang but also to the cadres and the masses of Pin County. Everyone knows that several factors were responsible for Pin County's good harvest, the most important being the determination and the sweat of the cadres and masses. Without their hard work, a good harvest would be a castle in the air.

2. Secretary Wang was the secretary of the prefectural CCP committee. He never held the concurrent post of standing committee member of the provincial CCP committee.

3. The allegation that the Pin County CCP Committee as a whole, under the leadership of Secretary Wang, achieved a 110-percent rate in salary increases is also untrue. Secretary Wang got a transfer in February 1980 and a salary review of the Pin County CCP Committee members did not get underway until 6 months after his departure from his prefectural post. At that time, there were 14 cadres at and above the rank of standing committee members of Pin County CCP Committee and vice chairmen of the Pin County Revolutionary Committee. Two of them reported to duty in Pin County after the salary review and had received their raises while still at their previous posts. Another standing committee member had a lower grade than his fellow members and received his salary review at his grade level (he had one promotion at his previous grade level, but no further promotion once he reached the county level). Therefore, all in all, only 11 leading cadres in Pin County received county-level salary review. Only four of them were promoted, so the percentage of promotion should be 36.3 percent. Nobody was promoted two grades at a time. Thus Liu's claim of an overall 110-percent rate in salary increases for the Pin County CCP Committee is very wide of the mark.

## II. Concerning "Between Men and Demons"

To our knowledge, there are eight factual errors in "Between Men and Demons."

### 1. Who played the key role in uncovering Wang Shouxin's unlawful activities?

"Between Men and Demons" exaggerated the role played by Liu Changchun [0491 7022 2504] and Shi Huailiang [0670 2037 0081], two "small potatoes," claiming that the work team dispatched by the county CCP committee "received no support whatsoever from local party organizations nor tipoffs from any party member about the wrongdoing of Wang Shouxin." It went on to say: "The problem with the work team that came to light is also a problem of the county CCP committee. It is a problem of losing touch with the people and thus losing touch with realities." These words present a completely distorted picture of the key role played by the county CCP committee in cracking the Wang Shouxin case, the contribution of the party members at large, and the relationship between our party and the people. Here are the facts. In the summer of 1978, the Pin County CCP Committee, following the plans made by the provincial and prefectural CCP committees, decided to introduce a double-barreled (anti-embezzlement, antitheft, and antiprofitteering) struggle into the departments and enterprises that came under direct county jurisdiction. Acting upon the complaints and tipoffs from the masses, the committee focused its attention on the Pin County Fuel Company.

On 31 July, the committee set up a work team and stationed it at the Pin County Fuel Company.

On 1 August, it convened a mobilization rally to kick off the double-barreled struggle at the county-level departments and local-level enterprises.

On 2 August, Liu Changchun put up a big character poster attacking Wang Shouxin as the coal lord.

On 3 August, Wang Shouxin's accomplices also put up a big-character poster in the name of Wang Shouxin in retort. It was later removed from the wall by the order of the Pin County CCP Committee.

On 5 August, the work team stationed at the Pin County Fuel Company mobilized the masses to report on Wang Shouxin. At the time there were 17 party members working at the company. Eight of them put up big-character posters pressing for investigation of Wang Shouxin's case. Others blew the whistle on Wang Shouxin at various public meetings. Still others individually provided leads to the work team. Therefore, Comrade Liu Binyan's allegation that "from start to finish not a single party member tried to tip off the work team on what Wang Shouxin was up to" is contrary to fact. There is no denying that Comrade Liu Changchun provided a good deal of useful information to the work team and was an active force throughout the struggle. The fact remains that it was the Pin County CCP Committee which, after 3 months of exhaustive investigation with the help of the masses, collected enough incriminating evidences and put together a strong case against Wang Shouxin by the end of December.

The facts leave no doubt that the leaders of the Pin County CCP Committee, with the help of party members and the masses, played a decisive role in breaking the case of Wang Shouxin. It is true that several members of the Pin County CCP Committee failed to act swiftly upon the information provided by the masses against Wang Shouxin and that some members even maintained contacts with Wang. We should definitely criticize and take issue with such negligence of duties. However, we should not dismiss the decisive role played by the Pin County CCP Committee in breaking the case. If we do, we are not being respectful to the truth.

2. Is it true that "none of the CCP committees at any level and none of the social science departments" ever took a first-hand look into the Wang Shouxin case?

In his "Answers to Readers," Comrade Liu Binyan wrote: "None of the CCP committees at any level and none of the social science departments ever sent anyone to Pin County to study the social conditions and the structure of the party organizations there in order to find out what went wrong. This is why I took it upon myself to write 'Between Men and Demons.'"

People who do not know the truth will conclude from the above paragraph that none of the party organizations at any level and none of the social science departments took an active interest in the Wang Shouxin case, a case of grand theft that shook the whole nation. They will form the impression that since nobody in the nation and nobody in the province paid any attention, it was up

to the author on his own to draw attention to it. This impression cannot be farther from the truth. The fact is that in the course of investigating the case, the key members of the provincial and prefectural CCP committees followed closely the developments and listened to many briefings on the progress. Furthermore, the prefectural CCP committee sent out a work team. The provincial government also dispatched liaison agents to coordinate the investigative efforts of the provincial, prefectural and county departments involved. Before Comrade Liu Binyan's visit to Pin County in July 1979, the provincial and prefectural party and governmental organs, the press corps, and cultural organizations had all sent representatives to make exhaustive investigations, from different vantage points, of the Wang Shouxin case from start to finish, to sum up the lessons of this case, and to write up investigation reports.

Toward the end of November 1978, that is, 20 months before Comrade Liu Binyan's visit to Pin County, the Songhua Jiang Prefectural CCP Committee sent an investigation team headed by one of its standing members and a vice chairman of the prefectural revolutionary committee and consisting of leading cadres from the discipline inspection subcommittee of the prefectural CCP committee, the prefectural Bureau of Public Security, the prefectural office of the inspector general, and the district court. Upon completion of its mission, the investigation team produced a report. Thereupon the prefectural CCP committee circulated its "resolution to introduce a prefecturewide campaign to put the party in order, to rectify the style of work in general, and to educate the public, drawing on the lessons provided by the negative examples of Wang Shouxin's embezzlement case."

In February 1979, the provincial CCP committee sent an investigation team, consisting of personnel from provincial, prefectural and county departments, to Pin County for investigation. On 20 February, the provincial CCP committee received an investigation report entitled, "The Bitter Lessons of the Wang Shouxin Case," from this team and forwarded it to the central government. Subsequently the "Organizational Work Newsletter" published by the Organization Department of the Central Committee printed excerpts from this report. The RENMIN RIBAO also carried an edited version of the newsletter excerpts. On 5 June, the provincial CCP committee circulated this report throughout the province, urging party organizations at all levels to use the Wang Shouxin case as a negative guide in their house-cleaning effort.

Beginning in February 1979, the Pin County CCP Committee devoted a good deal of time to rectification of the workstyle first among its own leading members and then within all the county-level departments, using the Wang Shouxin case as a negative example, and reported its effort to both the prefectural and provincial CCP committees.

On 15 August 1979, the HEILONGJIANG RIBAO published a long newsletter entitled, "A Profile of the Decade of Catastrophe." RENMIN RIBAO also sent a reporter to Pin County to dig up the facts, and on 16 August 1979 published

a long newsletter entitled, "Shocking and Thought-Provoking--How Could the Grand Embezzler Wang Shouxin Pull Off a Job Like That?"

Didn't all such published material contain revealing facts about the social conditions and the conduct of the party organizations that spawned people like Wang Shouxin? Without any investigation of such social conditions and such conduct of the party organizations, how could the report "The Bitter Lessons of the Wang Shouxin Case" be written? Without such material being published, what alerted Comrade Liu Binyan to the fact that something was going on in Pin County? Even if Comrade Liu Binyan was not aware of all of the investigations being conducted, he should have seen or heard a little bit about them. Why did Comrade Liu Binyan ignore such facts? Regardless of whether this oversight was intentional or unintentional, Comrade Liu Binyan was still wrong in taking the credit away from the party organizations and giving himself all the credit. The damage he did goes far beyond self-aggrandizement.

### 3. Who was responsible for casting a wide dragnet?

The article "Between Men and Demons" had this to say: "Liu Changchun made some mental calculations: If 90,000 tons of coal was sold in an average year and 10,000 tons of this was sold as if it had been production from small kilns, there would be an extra income of 150,000 yuan. In 5 years this extra income would add up to a staggering 750,000 yuan! How can we find out? Easy! Cast a wide dragnet. Let all the county-level departments audit the invoices they have received from buying coal." The fact is that it was the county CCP committee which proposed the "casting of a wide dragnet" when the investigation into Wang Shouxin's embezzlement was underway. The county CCP committee picked 28 department-level cadres to lead 129 grassroots cadres in going from one town to another for a thoroughgoing audit of all invoices showing surcharges (single-copy invoices of which only the buyers receive a copy) issued by the Pin County Fuel Company since 1972. Then in order to provide stronger leadership, the Pin County CCP Committee put four committee secretaries in charge and expanded their staff to 219 people. These people checked out all the affected units and worked among the masses, thus casting the widest possible net to catch Wang Shouxin. Now about Comrade Liu Changchun. He was just a junior level cadre. What authority did he have in making all departments carry out the auditing of invoices of coal transactions? Anyone with a little bit of political common sense would know that Liu Changchun could not do that.

### 4. Have there been changes in Pin County after the downfall of the "gang of four?"

Comrade Liu Binyan wrote: "Though the 'gang of four' was toppled, the county CCP committee as a whole has remained just as cowardly toward the rebels as before." "The conditions that aided people like Wang Shouxin have remained unchanged."

The fact is that since the downfall of the "gang of four," the Pin County CCP Committee set out to break down the political, ideological and organizational strength of the followers of the "gang of four." They have taken various steps to shake up and strengthen the leadership bodies at all levels. There were 32 "rebels" holding leadership positions in the county-level departments. The Pin County CCP Committee took appropriate action or made appropriate job reassignments affecting the majority of them on the merit of each individual. At the same time, the CCP committee also did a lot of work in restoring order and setting things right and implementing the party's policies. Therefore, Comrade Liu Binyan's claim that "conditions ... have remained unchanged" and "there is no basic change" runs counter to the facts. Otherwise, how could the unlawful activities of Wang Shouxin and others have been uncovered?

5. Was Zhao Yu [6392 3768] against Tien Fengsan [3944 7628 1472]?

"Between Men and Demons" had this to say: "Zhao Yu, a member of party committee for commerce, did a good job of bringing down Tien Fengsan.... As a result, he was promoted to the head of the party committee for commerce by Political Commissioner Yang." "He supported Wang Shouxin in his move to fire a large number of staff members and workers from the Pin County Fuel Company."

This is at variance with the facts. Zhao Yu's real name was Zhao Guoyi [6392 0948 5030]. He used to be the deputy head of the county department of finance and trade. He was not against Tien Fengsan during the "Cultural Revolution." In fact, he even sided with Tien Fengsan and for this reason was demoted to a commune-level job. Nine people were transferred out of the Pin County Fuel Company, many of them of their own free will. Zhao Yu had nothing to do with it. In fact, the transfer was handled by a deputy section chief in charge of administrative duties at the time. So Comrade Liu Binyan got all the facts mixed up.

6. When did Comrade Shi Huailiang [0670 2037 0081] write his big-character poster entitled "The Satellites of Social Sciences?"

"Between Men and Demons" stated: "On 15 September 1978, he (Shi Huailiang) wrote another big-character poster and personally put it up on the building housing the office of the county CCP committee. It was an eye-catching poster. The title was 'The Satellites of Social Sciences.'"

The fact is that Comrade Shi Huailiang wrote his big-character poster entitled "The Satellites of Social Sciences" on 19 February 1979, following the breaking of the Wang Shouxin case. It called for serious study of the Wang Shouxin case in order to sum up and to benefit from its lessons. Advancing the date of this poster, Comrade Liu Binyan claimed that the poster

was written in September 1978, before the Wang Shouxin case was broken. So it was not a simple mixup of dates. It was a serious misrepresentation. Besides, the same feature story even mentioned that Shi Huailiang put up a big-character poster entitled "Wang Shouxin is the key to the solution of problems in Pin County" as early as 1972. This is also untrue. The fact is that Shi Huailiang sent a big-character poster to the party committee of the commercial section of Pin County in 1972, but it was never shown to the public. It is obvious that the feature story overexaggerated the role of Shi Huailiang in uncovering Wang Shouxin's unlawful activities. We believe that we must give criticism where criticism is deserved and that we must give credit where credit is due. Once criticism or credit is misplaced, they are no longer convincing.

7. Was Secretary Pang of the Medicinal Herbs Company one of the nouveaux riches?

In "Between Men and Demons," Comrade Liu Binyan had this to say about Secretary Pang: "After 2 years as a secretary, he became one of the nouveaux riches." "He was able to pay back in 2 years 1,300 yuan which he owed to the government." This Secretary Pang was, in real life, Comrade Yu Lianzhong [0060 6647 0112], who was the secretary of the party branch of the Pin County Raw Medicinal Herbs Company. In 1975, the county CCP committee required staff members and workers to pay back their debts to the government. Therefore Yu Lianzhong had to borrow from his relatives and friends and to sell his wristwatch to raise enough money to settle his debt. It was not true that he enriched himself by unlawful means in order to pay his government debts. Therefore Comrade Liu Binyan's description and criticism are ill-founded and unreasonable.

8. The description of the section chief for the power industry, the manager of a towel factory, and the section chief for industry is also inaccurate.

"Between Men and Demons" called the county section chief for the power industry a "power lord" and a "millionaire." The fact is that this section chief had nothing to do with the Wang Shouxin ring. It is true that his section was wasteful. In the years between 1973 and 1978, it ran up an entertainment bill of over 10,000 yuan. It is also true that the blame for the wastefulness rested with the leadership. This situation has since been redressed and corrected. It is a clear misstatement to describe the section chief for power as a "power lord" and a "millionaire."

The feature story also claimed that a certain manager of a towel factory "indulged in extramarital relations wherever he went, and managed to come out of those entanglements clean every time, like a duck that emerges from water dry every time." It even claimed that extramarital relations were a "hobby" of this factory manager. These claims have no basis in fact. They amounted to personal attacks and caused marital problems for the people thus described.

The author should not take such an irresponsible attitude. The author also made certain factual errors regarding the housing problem of a certain Mr. Yang.

"Between Men and Demons" also contained factual errors regarding other good people and other situations which are too numerous for this short article.

### III. Concerning "Man Is the Purpose, Man Is the Center"

Comrade Liu Binyan's article entitled "Man Is the Purpose, Man Is the Center" was published in 1979 in the No 6 issue of LITERARY COMMENTARY. It described the Huanan Transportation Company as "being engaged in counterrevolutionary conspiracy in the name of the proletariat" and a "model of total dictatorship" and "class struggle." It mentioned real people and real events, but again gave erroneous accounts of them.

1. It claimed that "for a few pieces of fish, a worker was subjected to group criticism and struggle lasting 34 days."

The fact is that this worker did misbehave. The masses complained about it. The company authorities tried to help him during party member gatherings and "political line analysis meetings." There might have been some over-reaction to this worker's misbehavior, but there was no such thing as group criticism and struggle against him. To say that such criticism and struggle lasted 34 days was extremely far-fetched. Such willful exaggeration cannot stand up to close scrutiny.

2. It also claimed that "Just because driver Tang Wenli [3282 2429 4409] talked back when the top man of the company was chiding him, he was arrested and later sentenced to manual labor under surveillance. Still later he was condemned as a "production saboteur" and imprisoned for 3 years. The fact is that driver Tang Wenli was involved in several traffic accidents while on duty and he caused damage to state property. On 15 August 1975 he was arrested by the county bureau of public security and on 6 April 1977 he was sentenced to 6 years in prison on the charge of "sabotaging production" by the People's Intermediate Court of Hejiang Prefecture. Thus it is true that Tang Wenli spent time behind bars, but not for the reason given by the author. Besides, on 13 April 1979 the court overturned the guilty verdict as it found no criminal responsibility in connection with the accidents. Then in May, Comrade Tang Wenli got his job back and received his back pay. He is now a technician. Comrade Liu Binyan attributed Tang's arrest and imprisonment to his talking back to a leading cadre of his company. Such exaggeration borders on absurdity.

3. This feature story claimed that "Liu Shulan [0491 3219 5695], a station supervisor, was also subjected to relentless struggle after she refused to



let an acquaintance of a leading cadre get on a bus without paying the fare. She had an infection of the uterus and this condition became a subject of ridicule. During several struggle sessions, Zhao Yufeng [6392 6595 6912] forced her to take off her pants in public. Her condition continued to worsen until the swelling in the uterus reached her rectum. She was hospitalized. Nonetheless, Zhao Yufeng continued to have her brought back from the hospital, without pants, for criticism-and-struggle sessions."

The fact is that in the summer of 1975 Comrade Liu Shulan developed a vaginal infection. She requested sick leave. People in the labor management section inquired about her condition. She then voluntarily took off her pants in the privacy of the broadcast room of the bus station and showed the infected spot to three women comrades. Later, two other women comrades visited her at home. She again took off her pants to show her infection to the visitors. There was no such thing as refusing to let an acquaintance of a leading cadre get on a bus and then being subjected to a relentless struggle. As for the graphic description that "Zhao Yufeng forced her to take off her pants in public" and that he "continued to have her brought back from the hospital, without pants, for criticism-and-struggle sessions", this sounded totally unreal and comical to colleagues of Liu Shulan when they read Comrade Liu Binyan's article. Obviously, if someone were to force a woman to take off her pants in public and have her brought back from a hospital with her pants down, he would create a public outrage. This shows that for his purpose of discrediting one cadre, Comrade Liu Binyan would not hesitate to make up stories and to discredit a whole group of people. We still do not understand why Comrade Liu Binyan would try to describe the cadres and the masses of Pin County in such grotesque and dastardly detail?

This feature story also made gross misrepresentations concerning the case of Bian Weisi [0593 0787 2448], the case of cashier Zhang Yucai [1728 3768 6299] and the "study class for the invalid." We will not go into details here.

The factual errors cited above amply prove that Comrade Liu Binyan took too many liberties with the facts in some of his writings. Sometimes he drew the wrong conclusions. Sometimes he matched the events with the wrong people. Sometimes he simply made things up. Sometimes he called black white. In our opinion, these are serious aberrations for investigative reporting. We are taking issue with these aberrations here in the hope that Comrade Liu Binyan may benefit from our criticism. Should he be endowed with the nobility of spirit for criticism and self-criticism, he should write articles of self-criticism and apology for those periodicals which published his misleading articles.

In our opinion, it is a lack of a sense of propriety and a lack of a sense of responsibility that bred the factual errors in Comrade Liu Binyan's articles.

One rule of thumb for all classical Marxist writers is to check their material for truthfulness and accuracy. Paul Lafargue remembered this about Karl Marx: "For every fact and every figure used in his writing, Marx would seek confirmation from the most respected and most authoritative sources. He was never satisfied with second-hand information. He would go to endless trouble to find the direct source." Wilhelm Liebknecht also said that in Marx' writings, "every word is like a straight arrow and every sentence is a well-pondered accusation based on facts and speaks the utter, irrefutable, and naked truth." Krupskaya said: "Lenin did not trust his memory. Not that his memory was poor. He simply did not want to cite a fact just because he remembered it so. Whenever he cited a fact, he was absolutely sure." The articles written by Liu Binyan were not fiction. They were feature stories, essays and speeches concerning real people and real events. Therefore they should have adhered strictly to the facts. The events they described should be typical cases taken from real life, and the figures they quoted should be accurate. After all, they are convincing only as long as they are truthful. Truthfulness is the very soul of literature and the material on which it is based. Even some accidental errors in a piece of writing would cast doubt on all the facts and arguments it is presenting and would set off an undesirable reaction.

Indeed that is exactly what Comrade Liu Binyan's articles did. They created serious misunderstanding and caused untold mental distress and pain and created many personal problems for those comrades implicated in those articles. Such repercussions probably were not expected by the author. On the other hand, the cadres and the people who knew the facts lost their respect for the journals that printed Comrade Liu Binyan's articles as well as for the author himself. This brings to mind a common practice during the "Cultural Revolution." At that time, some people would willfully attack innocent comrades in their big-character posters with the sole purpose of ruining the latter's career and reputation. These big-character posters made their victims look like monsters. Fortunately, those posters had only limited local exposure. In those days, big-character posters were not taken seriously, so their impact was limited. The articles of Comrade Liu Binyan were published in respectable national journals of mass circulation. They could do many times more harm than big-character posters. If these articles had directed their relentless criticism against those who did stray and who did victimize the masses, they would have served the rightful purpose of turning public opinion against them and causing them mental distress and pain. Even within this context, these articles still should not have deviated from the facts nor from the rule of propriety.

Comrade Liu Binyan could have avoided the factual errors if he had been a little more conscientious. He could have gotten all his facts right if he had taken the trouble to make extensive and painstaking research and study, to thoroughly check out his sources of information, and to enlist the help of local party organizations to verify the facts which he intended to use in

his articles. As it is, Comrade Liu Binyan did not even bother to go to some of the places which were home to the people and events he intended to write about. Nor did he bother to consult the local party organizations closest to those people and events. He based his articles purely on the say-so of certain individuals. No wonder he made one factual error after another. If he continues to write in his haphazard way, he will soon ruin his own reputation as a writer.

It is our hope that Comrade Liu Binyan will be able to draw some lessons from this article. It is always advisable to follow the principle of truthfulness, to form a habit of thoroughly researching the subject, and to cultivate a scientist's respect for accuracy and precision and a writer's strong sense of responsibility. A writer must thoroughly check his material for truthfulness and accuracy. This applies to background material, material incidental to the subject, as well as supplementary material. It is our hope that Comrade Liu Binyan will not repeat the same mistakes and will, from now on, write more and better articles for the benefit of the people.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### BRIEFS

NEW TEACHERS' COLLEGES--Beijing, 21 May (XINHUA)--The Chinese State Council has just approved the establishment of four new colleges to train junior-high school teachers, adding to the 119 existing institutions, according to the Ministry of Education. The Ministry said this is the latest step in efforts that the Chinese Government has made to improve teaching of junior-high schools since 1977, when there were only 16 such colleges in the country. Courses offered at these colleges include mathematics, physics, chemistry, Chinese literature, foreign languages, politics and pedagogics, the ministry said. Such colleges are in great demand because their graduates are usually assigned to local schools and their schooling is 1 or 2 years shorter than the country's 69 regular 4-year teachers' colleges and universities, which mainly train teachers for senior-high schools and colleges. Besides training new teachers, the Ministry of Education also organizes on-the-job training or full-time refresher courses for teachers. The country now has around 4,000 such institutes or schools giving courses to millions of teachers. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0711 GMT 21 May 82 OW]

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